Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-077
Thursday
21 April 1988

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-077 *21 April 1988*

CONTENTS

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

CEMA Secretary Briefs Press on Prague Talks *[RUDE PRAVO 16 Apr]* 1
Briefs 1
CEMA Soil Fertility Talks 1
CEMA Growth Regulators Session 1

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Hungarian CSCE Envoy on Minorities, Final Act 2

ALBANIA

ZERI I POPULLIT Views U.S. Economy *[15 Apr]* 3
Malile Concludes Official Visit to Greece 4

BULGARIA

CSSR's Jakes Continues Visit, Meets Zhivkov *[Prague Television Service]* 6
Zhivkov, Jakes Hold Talks 6
Economic Cooperation Program Signed 7
Jakes Grants Interview *[Prague]* 7
Communique on Visit Published 8
Jakes Departs 20 April 8
U.S. Action in Gulf Termed 'Unjustified' *[Nikolov in RABOTNICHESKO DELO 19 Apr]* 8

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Husak Announces New Federal Government 10
RUDE PRAVO Analyzes Changes 10
Government Appoints New Ministers 11
Bill Authorizes Slovak Reorganization 11
Changes Announced 12
CPSL Congratulates Lenart on His New Post *[Bratislava PRAVDA 15 Apr]* 12
TANJUG Assesses CSSR Cadre Changes 13
Jakes Speaks on Party Work, Restructuring *[RUDE PRAVO 14 Apr]* 13
Jakes Returns From Bulgaria, Met by Bilak 20
Reason for Quarterly Economic Reporting Noted *[MLADA FRONTA 16 Apr]* 20

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Honecker on Disarmament, Arms Asymmetries 21
Editions of 4 Church Papers Suppressed *[Hamburg DPA]* 21
Need To Draft More Reservists Discussed *[Hamburg DPA]* 21
Central Committee Message to Agriculture Society *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 15 Apr]* 21
GDR, CSSR Envoys' Arms Ban Proposal to FRG 22
Leuschner on Arms Reduction Talks in Vienna 23
Sindermann Holds Athens Talks With Papandreou 23
Axen Holds Talks With FRG Official 24
Foreign Ministry Spokesman on Israeli 'Terror' 24

HUNGARY

Ryzhkov Continues Activities, Departs 26
More on Factory Tour 26

Ryzhokov Addresses Officials 26
Discussions With Chamber of Commerce 27
Meets Kadar, Grosz 28
Meets With Nemeth 28
More on Meeting With Nemeth 28
Representatives Sign Accords 29
Joint Communique on Visit 29
Closing Session With Grosz 31
Ryzhkov Gives News Conference 31
Grosz Interviewed on Talks With Ryzhkov 32
Leaves; Seen Off by Grosz 33

POLAND

TRYBUNA LUDU Criticizes USIA's Wick *[Lozinski, 8 Apr]* 34
Polish-Soviet History Panel Head Interviewed *[PERSPEKTYWY 25 Mar]* 35
PAP Cites TASS Interview With Czyrek 39
Economic Cooperation With Bulgaria Discussed *[TRYBUNA LUDU 16-17 Apr]* 40
Jaruzelski Receives Finnish Social Democrats 40
Czyrek Meets With FRG Politicians 40
Delegate Tells UN Commission of Trade Status 41
Function To Commemorate Ghetto Uprising *[TRYBUNA LUDU 18 Apr]* 41
Jaruzelski Meets World Jewish Congress Group 42
PZPR Politburo Evaluates Reform, Other Issues 42
Jaruzelski Attends Journalists Meeting 42
Press Cited on Opposition, Security *[POLITYKA 16 Apr]* 43

ROMANIA

Ceausescu Returns to Bucharest 21 Apr 45
Reportage of Mongolian Visit *[cross-reference]* 45
Officials Celebrate Syria's National Day 45
Ceausescu Greets Al-Asad *[SCINTEIA 17 Apr]* 45
Dascalescu Greets Counterpart *[SCINTEIA 17 Apr]* 45
Daily Marks National Holiday *[SCINTEIA 17 Apr]* 45
Ceausescu Cables AKEL Party on Leader's Death *[SCINTEIA 13 Apr]* 45

YUGOSLAVIA

Further on Mikulic's Official Visit to FRG 46
Advocates Foreign Investment 46
Returns From FRG 46
Syrian Leaders Congratulated on National Day 47
Mikulic Greets Al-Zu'bi *[POLITIKA 17 Apr]* 47
Mojsov Greets Al-Asad *[POLITIKA 17 Apr]* 47
Mojsov Sends Greetings to Cambodia's Sihanouk *[POLITIKA 17 Apr]* 47
Finance Secretary Receives U.S. Ambassador 47
Krunic Addresses LCY CC Presidium 47
Grlickov Notes Rifts in LCY Leadership 48
Assembly Reorganizes Administrative Bodies 48
Agrokomerc Director's Trial To Open 5 May 49
Loncar Addresses Vojvodina Presidency 49
MLADINA's 'Counterrevolutionary' Editorial *[No 11]* 50
Admiral Brovet on MLADINA, 'Special War' *[NARODNA ARMIJA No 2543 7 Apr]* 51
Mamula Addresses Students on Defense 55
Mamula Visits Military Units in Istria 59
Spring Military Exercises Set for Slovenia 59
Adriatic Islands' Importance for Security Noted 59

CEMA Secretary Briefs Press on Prague Talks

AU202042 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Apr 88 p 7

["al"-signed report: "V. Sychev on CEMA's Tasks in the Immediate Future; Stress on Acceleration of Cooperation"]

[Text] Prague (Our Correspondent)—The main objective of my visit in Prague was to discuss some points of the preparations for the 127th session of the CEMA Executive Committee, which will be held next month, stated CEMA Secretary Vyacheslav Sychev at a press conference in Prague. He added: This session will address a number of important issues within the framework of the preparations for the 44th regular CEMA session, scheduled at the beginning of July in Prague, and will be of fundamental importance for the further development of the socialist economic integration.

He highly valued his meetings with Comrades Milos Jakes and Lubomir Strougal. He and Rudolf Rohlicek, CSSR first deputy premier, who is currently chairman of the CEMA Executive Committee, discussed the preparations for the CEMA sessions. The Prague CEMA session will discuss the results of the restructuring of the mechanism of the socialist economic integration, assess CEMA's activity over the past 2 years, and discuss ideas on international socialist labor division and other topical problems. V. Sychev also spoke about changes in work style and organization of the CEMA apparatus, the task of which is to deepen and, in particular, accelerate cooperation among CEMA member states.

Asked why changes are being made in the Comprehensive Program for Scientific-Technical Progress, he said that the program cannot be regarded as being an immutable dogma but has to be constantly adapted to world developments of science and technology.

V. Sychev also briefed journalists on a series of talks under way between CEMA and the EEC on various levels, and expressed the hope that a joint declaration of the two large European economic groupings will be signed this very year. This would be a contribution not only from the political and economic point of view, but would also eventually facilitate large all-European projects in transportation, ecology, power engineering, and other spheres.

Briefs

CEMA Soil Fertility Talks

(CTK)—A scientific coordination conference of CEMA states on the problems of soil fertility was concluded in Bratislava on 14 April with the signing of a working protocol. The protocol stresses the significance of cooperation in the use of computers in agriculture and in the elaboration of automated systems to regulate soil fertility. [Summary] [*AU201521 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Apr 88 p 2*]

CEMA Growth Regulators Session

Varna, April 19 (BTA)—An international session on an important trend of the CMEA Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technological Progress up to the Year 2000 was opened here today. Experts of Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia will discuss the results of their joint work on developing and applying growth regulators, increasing the yields and the resistance of the farm crops against low temperatures and other adverse factors of the natural environment. [Text] [*AU191443 Sofia BTA in English 1146 GMT 19 Apr 88*]

Hungarian CSCE Envoy on Minorities, Final Act
LD192035 Budapest MTI in English 1850 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Vienna, April 19 (MTI)—The relations between countries can only be normal and balanced if the nationalities living in these countries are permitted to fulfil their real role and serve as bridges of approach and cooperation, and not as factors of separation and alienation, said Ambassador Andre Erdos, head of the Hungarian delegation to the Vienna follow-up meeting, in his contribution to the plenary session on Tuesday.

In the introductory phase of his contribution Andre Erdos pointed out that the delegation of Hungary would make resolute efforts so that the current round of the Vienna meeting achieves essential results in all fields of cooperation as specified in the Helsinki Final Act.

Discussing the question of national minorities, the ambassador pointed out that the prolific discussions of the follow-up meeting resulted in a non-negligible progress, but there is still a lot of hard work to do. As he said, it was an historic experience increasingly recognized in the Helsinki process as well that the question of national minorities and nationalities could not be an exclusive domestic policy issue for any country. The opinion that the problems related to the national minorities could not be considered as settled once and for all as they require permanent attention and care is becoming more widespread.

Regarding the national minorities, continued the ambassador, some disquieting signs have emerged for a long time. The Magyars, which form the largest national minority in Europe living outside the borders of the native country, respond with sensitivity to these problems. The Hungarian public is not indifferent to the efforts which are threatening the minority's existence, erasing a past and limiting a language and a culture. Hungary makes efforts so that these problems be resolved according to the requirements of the end of the 20th century, without straining relations with the neighbour country. Although promising developments are seen in several countries, unfortunately this in not the case everywhere. To guarantee the nationality rights is part and parcel of inter-state relations and the participants in the Vienna follow-up meeting should not close their eyes to the related favourable or unfavourable events. Some most recent plans and measures affecting the nationalities are especially contrasting the spirit and text of the Helsinki Final Act and contradict the efforts of the follow-up meeting and texts related to the minorities in the final document.

Andre Erdos emphasized that the issue of national minorities is not a territorial or border question. Hungary is firmly determined to make, both in its bilateral relations and on international forums, a calm and responsible approach to this issue, taking all circumstances into consideration. It continues to believe that a democratic solution could be found to the accumulated problems, said the head of the Hungarian delegation.

ZERI I POPULLIT Views U.S. Economy

AU201314 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 15 Apr 88 p 3

[Article by Deputy Finance Minister Gjergj Rakaj: "Financial Reality and the Myth of a Strong America"]

[Text] The Reagan administration's economic and monetary policies, which bourgeois propaganda has been trumpeting about so loudly during the first years of this decade and calling a "triumphal march" of the American economy, has been showing dangerous symptoms, such as the collapse and absorption of enterprises and banks with the weakest going to the wall, panic on the stock exchange, and unbridled speculation. The policies of high interest and "monetary instruments" in general have not only proved to be inadequate to rescue the American economy and the dollar from the crisis, but have led to an unprecedented collapse of the stock exchange in October 1987, while for months the dollar has been fluctuating around its lowest levels since World War II.

Conflicts and contradictions among imperialist countries have been further inflamed, with calls for more "breathing space," while "supply side" and monetary policies have resulted in effects opposite to those intended, and in reduced dominance in the economy, technology, and finance.

Once upon a time, between 1945 and 1960, the United States held sway because it had a monopoly of the world capitalist economy. In 1948, its industrial production was 55.8 percent of the industrial output of the capitalist world. Today, its superiority has been cut by more than half, because the balance of power in the world has changed. Japan, the FRG, the EEC, and so forth, have seriously shaken the competitiveness of American capital.

The "great" program of Reaganomics was in the first years of its application accompanied by a kind of temporary increase in production, investment, and an artificial increase in the purchasing power of the dollar. Yet, at the same time, this policy created new problems which were exacerbated further by the monetary crisis.

Now that this "program" is ending, along with Reagan's mandate, the American economy's balance sheet is the best indicator of the result: The United States' internal debt has reached $2,400 billion; in other words it has more than doubled within 5 years. The federal budget deficit stands at over $200 billion, while net debts abroad stood at $400 billion in 1987. A short while ago, the magazine BUSINESS WEEK announced that, if Americans do not begin to face reality and tighten their belts, they will have a net foreign debt of $600 billion in 1988 and $1,000 billion in 1990. At present, as regards foreign debt figures, the United States with its Reaganomics heads the world list, with more debts than even such heavily indebted countries as Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina.

Due to the consequences of this policy, the Americans no longer have the same freedom to control world finances, and they have to pay "big brother" up to $50 billion a year in the form of interest, etc.

It is an indisputable fact that the competitive ability of the American economy has weakened in recent years. To the causes that have given rise to this situation, besides low growth rates in labor productivity (especially in comparison with Japan and the FRG), and the poor quality of American goods, one must add the "expensive money" policy with its artificial increase in the value of the dollar. The balance of trade between the United States and Japan, the FRG, etc., has for years been running in the billions of dollars in favor of America's trading partners. To alleviate and prevent this phenomenon, the American administration reduced the dollar exchange rate, with the aim of boosting exports. At the same time, in order to stimulate capitalists to invest, the so-called fiscal reform was carried out, and income tax reduced. But the American capitalists did not respond in full to the government's ideas, and used the opportunity of lower income tax to invest in the service sector, where returns are earned more quickly.

Apart from this, the eighties have tended toward less economic integration, and this has first of all reduced the extent of the "common denominator" connecting the United States and the capitalist world.

The United States no longer has the "indisputable" superiority it once held over the FRG, Japan, etc., either in productivity or technology. For example, labor productivity is growing twice as fast in the FRG as in the United States.

High military expenditure severely burdens the American economy in comparison with others. Currently, the U.S. spends 6.7 percent of its national product on the Army, or between two and six times more than other developed countries spend. Moreover, more than 70 percent of American military expenditure is made abroad, to maintain bases, carry out military programs, etc.

Under these conditions, the Reagan administration is greatly preoccupied with the deficit, and especially the extremely high public deficit. However, the idea of American "greatness" will continue to lead the country to spend beyond its means, and other peoples, including even America's closest allies, will be made to pay for it.

The United States' need to somewhat alleviate the imbalance created by exceptionally high military expenditure in relation to relatively declining economic power presents worries for America's allies and collaborators;

they are asked to increase their contribution to NATO, because they spend less on their defense, and this shortfall is made up by the United States.

However, the United States' most powerful allies are "criticizing" the United States' indecision over reducing its budget deficit, and are insisting on a reduction of the federal budget deficit. This is considered one of the causes of the severe state of the American currency and economy, where there are recurrent signs of the "revival" of inflation.

The fall of the dollar, as well as the high expenditure required for intervention on money markets on the part of developed capitalist countries to support the dollar and prevent its further fall, are at the core of major misunderstandings, especially among the financial oligarchy and the governments of developed capitalist countries.

The fall of the dollar has greatly increased worries that extend beyond the purely financial. For instance, the pace of industrial growth in the United States between 1970 and 1980 has been down to half that of other highly developed countries. Since 1979, investment has fallen by 17.6 percent, and national production by 14 percent, to the lowest level among the "big" capitalist countries. Statistics show that the FRG and Japan are now the main exporting countries, while the United States can be considered an importer. This situation exacerbates the shocks on the stock exchanges; and the present aim is to make Japan confront its primary problem, its trade surplus, and to exert pressure upon Japan to reduce it or to change its policies so that America will avoid resorting to protectionism.

The main reason for this is that the United States can no longer compete on the basis of higher productivity. As far as its competitiveness on the world market is concerned, its former superiority has in most cases been reduced to a position of equality. At the present rate of growth in productivity, the future will turn this position into one of inevitable inferiority. Under such circumstances, America is learning, or will have to learn, how to compete with the world economy, at a time when its economic potential is relatively weaker than ever before.

The measures being undertaken in U.S. monetary and financial policy may perhaps still bring some temporary improvement in the situation, but will not save the American economy from its dire situation, because the roots and causes of the crisis lie deeper. They must be sought in the capitalist order itself, and in the capitalist mode of production with its cyclic pattern marked by interruptions and crises. These are not only evident in monetary and financial spheres, but affect the field of trade. It is in this area that they are most obvious; the roots of the crisis lie in the capitalist mode of production, and its causes are structural and not merely monetary. Whatever "moderate" or "scientifically studied" monetary or financial programs or policies are attempted, they will not extract the capitalist world and the American economy from the crisis which is their constant concomitant.

Malile Concludes Official Visit to Greece

AU181250 Tirana ATA in English
0745 GMT 18 Apr 88

["The Foreign Minister Reis Malile Returns Home—The Trade Agreement on Border Areas of Albania and Greece Signed"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, April 18 (ATA)—The minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Reis Malile, and the delegation headed by him, left Kerkira to Ioannina. He was accompanied by Karolos Papoulias, minister of foreign affairs of the Greek Republic and other personalities. In Kerkira he was seen off by the prefect of Kerkira, mayor of the municipality Korkoulos, the members of the Greek Government, Rallis and Kaloudhis.

In Ioannina the Albanian delegation was received at the prefecture of the city by the prefect of Ioannina, Ikonomis; the chairman of the Municipal Council, Kafendouris and deputy Glimamos. A warm and friendly talk was held at the seat of the prefecture of Ioannina between the foreign minister of Albania, Reis Malile, and country's personalities, regarding the strengthening and development of the trade relations and cooperation between the border areas of the two countries.

Likewise, the foreign minister of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Reis Malile, and the foreign minister of the Greek Republic, Karolos Papoulias, signed in Ioannina the trade agreement for the border points of Albania and Greece. For Albania in these zones are included Korce, Gjirokaster, and Sarande, whereas for Greece Ioannina, Kerkira, Florina, etc.

On the occasion, the foreign minister, Reis Malile, declared among others that the visit of the delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PSR of Albania to the Greek Republic is successfully coming to an end and it marked a new step in the development of the friendly relations and cooperation between the two countries in different fields of mutual interest. He said that during this visit we exchanged views with the Greek friends on international political problems, dwelling particularly on the developments in the Balkans. Both sides appreciated the recent steps taken at the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan states and the need of continuing this process through the development of bilateral and multilateral relations, which serve the spirit of trust and understanding in the Balkans.

In the island of Ioannina Lake, where there are still preserved the ruins of the last dwelling flat of Ali Pasha Tepelene, the prefect of Ioannina, Ikonomis, gave a

dinner in honour of the minister of foreign affairs of the PSR of Albania and the Albanian delegation, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

The folkloric groups of Ioannina region gave an artistic program.

From there, seen off with love by the Ioannina personalities, accompanied by the foreign minister of the Greek Republic, Karolos Papoulias; the general secretary of the Foreign Ministry of Greece, K. Yeoryiou; the prefect of Ioannina, Ikonomis; the president of the Municipal Council of Ioannina, Rastikas; and other personalities, the foreign minister Reis Malile came to the Kakavije border point. Present were also Ksenofon Nushi, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania in Athens, and Spiridhon Dokiados, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Greek Republic in Tirana.

The foreign minister was received by the chairman of the State Planning Commission, Niko Gjyzari; the director of the present International Relations Study Institute, Prof. Sofokli Lazri; the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Gjirokaster District People's Council, Flamur Cani; the chairman of the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations With the Foreign Countries, Jorgo Melica; officials at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, etc.

Present in one of the halls of our border point of Kakavije were also Karolos Papoulias and other Greek personalities. At the end of this visit, Comrade Reis Malile said:

"We just returned in the Albanian land from the friendly Greece. We are extremely happy that our visit successfully came to an end. In Greece we were welcomed with warm friendly feelings by the Greek people, by the Greek top authorities and personalities. We had the special pleasure to talk very frankly and sincerely with Mr Papoulias. We were received by the president, Mr Sartzetakis. We were received by the premier, Mr Papandreou, with whom we had an extraordinary warm talk. He asked me to convey to our people, our government, his and the Greek people's sincere greetings. Soon we will have the pleasure to greet him in Albania. Everywhere we went, to Athens, Kerkira, Preveza, Ioannina, we were welcomed as brothers. I am convinced that our friendship will strengthen continuously, that our cooperation will be further enhanced. This will be to the benefit of our peoples, the Albanian people, the Greek people, to the benefit of peace and security in the Balkans.

In particular, I want to thank my close friend, Mr Papoulias, for everything he did so that the visit be a full success."

On his part the foreign minister of the Greek Republic, Karolos Papoulias, said:

"First I want to convey to the Albanian people my heartfelt wishes for progress and prosperity. I want to emphasize that the visit of the minister of foreign affairs of Albania to Greece was a very successful one. There was a great interest in the visit of Mr Malile, during which I was present. Important negotiations and of very great interest were conducted with Greek premier, Mr Papandreou. On this occasion I rejoice over the visit that Mr Papandreou will pay to your country. Thus, I am again afforded the possibility to visit your country. I am convinced that the agreement signed today on the trade exchanges of the border areas is of value. Now, I am of the opinion that the relations between Greece and Albania will reach the highest levels of cooperation. These relations started with the opening of the Kakavije border point, which, as we said then, will become a point of friendship, cooperation, and mutual links to the good and progress of our two peoples. This testifies to the good climate which prevails in the relations between Greece and Albania. I thank you once again.

My most heartfelt greetings to the Albanian people."

CSSR's Jakes Continues Visit, Meets Zhivkov

LD210351 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Excerpts] Here is a report from the visit of Comrade Milos Jakes to the Bulgarian People's Republic:

[Passage omitted] The talks between Comrades Milos Jakes and Todor Zhivkov started at 1100. During the talks, they informed each other about the results of socialist construction in Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. They paid particular attention to issues connected with restructuring and democratization of the two countries. In this connection, Comrade Zhivkov spoke about the tasks following from the conclusions of the state-wide party conference of the BCP at the end of January. Milos Jakes informed the highest Bulgarian representatives about the results of the Ninth Session of the CPCZ Central Committee.

The two highest party representatives stated with satisfaction that Czechoslovak-Bulgarian relations are developing successfully in all spheres on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

The next part of the talks, in which the members of the entourage also took part, was devoted to economic issues. Both countries envisage this year and in the entire 5-year protocol a substantial growth of economic cooperation. Within CEMA, Bulgaria is our fifth most important trade partner. We are the third most important foreign trade partner for Bulgaria. Although cooperation has developed more slowly than was planned in the original 5-year protocol, there has been a 6-7 percent increase every year, including this year.

The talks then concentrated on some specific problems, specifically about the promotion of direct relations, investment modes, and joint scientific-technical projects. These should above all safeguard the possibility of mutual cooperation and of goods exchange necessary for the markets of the two countries. Cooperation in this sphere has already brought both countries an approximately 16 million [monetary unit not specified] increase in the volume of goods, 12 million of profit and an almost 6 million saving in energy.

The talks have confirmed that the development of direct relations would be helped by a number of legislative amendments, including the conclusion of treaty on mutual convertability of national currencies.

Although the Bulgarian partners gave up some investment projects, the project to build a nuclear power station at (Pelene) on the Danube was described as very promising, for which equipment worth 81 million rubles will be supplied over the next 4 years.

The general secretaries of the fraternal parties discussed the possibilities of cooperation on other spheres, too. They called for the expansion of direct contacts between parliaments, between localities, between cultural, educational and other institutions. Tourism also plays an important part in mutual acquaintance of the people of the two countries. About 400,000 people from Czechoslovakia visited Bulgaria last year. Therefore it was said in Sofia today that the promotion of tourism is to receive attention in the future too, as not all possibilities have been exploited in this area.

Comrades Milos Jakes and Todor Zhivkov also emphasized the necessity of speedy restructuring of the socialist economic integration mechanism and CEMA activity, and the thorough implementation of the comprehensive program of scientific-technical progress of the CEMA countries by 2000.

The two representatives also exchanged views on the current situation in the world and the further steps of the two fraternal parties for the reinforcement of peace and international security. They unanimously supported the peaceful foreign policy of the USSR and the peace initiatives of the other countries of the Warsaw Pact for the advancement of the all-European process. [passage omitted]

Zhivkov, Jakes Hold Talks

AU201436 Sofia BTA in English 1345 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Sofia, April 20 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, and Mr Milos Jakes, secretary general of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, who arrived here today on a friendly working visit, assessed their first meeting in Sofia as a useful event in the traditional Bulgaro-Czechoslovak friendship and cooperation. They observed that their meeting took part on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the signing of the first Treaty for Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid between the two countries.

The two leaders expressed satisfaction over the upgrade development of the bilateral relations in all spheres—interparty and interstate contacts, cooperation in economy and culture and interaction between mass and public organizations. The two leaders exchanged information on the tasks which the two countries are currently solving. Mr Todor Zhivkov spoke of the restructuring underway in Bulgaria in conformity with the July Concept on the Further Construction of Socialism and the resolutions of the National Conference of the BCP. He stressed the role of the BCP as a guiding and motor force of the processes of innovation. The guest was acquainted with the development of socialist self-management which gives great rights to the social entities and to the work forces.

On his part Mr Milos Jakes informed of the work of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in implementation of the tasks set by the 17th congress of the party and by

the plenums which followed it for practical steps toward restructuring the economy through intensification and on the political and ideological work of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Milos Jakes stressed the great importance which they attach to the Long-Term Program for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation Till the Year 2000, signed here today after the talks.

Its fulfillment opens new possibilities for the mastering of new, more efficient forms of cooperation, mainly on the road of specialization and cooperation. The first step in this respect is the signing of the agreement in principle for the establishment of the joint scientific-production enterprise "Liaz-Madara." The two sides emphasized the need of improvement of the economic mechanism related to the activity of the joint enterprises.

During the exchange of opinions on the international situation the two sides ascertained their complete similarity of assessments. It was pointed out that the peace processes underway in the world are the result of the new political thinking and actions based on the constructive proposals set forth by the USSR and Mr Mikhail Gorbachev. The importance of the Soviet-American INF Treaty was also stressed, as well as the significance of the forthcoming summit in Moscow. Mr Todor Zhivkov reiterated the full support to Czechoslovakia's new initiative for the establishing of a zone of trust, cooperation and goodneighbor relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Treaty member-states and the NATO member-states.

On his side Mr Milos Jakes voiced support to the efforts of Bulgaria for the turning of the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons.

The two leaders emphasized the importance of the restructuring process underway in the Soviet Union. It was pointed out that the two states will continue to work actively for the implementation of the coordinated political course of the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

Mr Todor Zhivkov gave lunch in honour of Mr Milos Jakes, secretary general of the CC of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. The two leaders delivered toast speeches at it.

Economic Cooperation Program Signed

AU201431 Sofia BTA in English
1340 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Sofia, April 20 (BTA)—Today, after their talks Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, and Mr Milos Jakes, secretary general of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, signed a Long-Term Program for Economic and Scientific and Technological Cooperation in the period up to the Year 2000.

The document gives prominence to the strategic trends of techno-scientific progress—electronics, comprehensive automation, new materials, biotechnologies and nuclear power engineering. The other spheres of bilateral cooperation are mechanical engineering, metallurgy, the chemical industry, construction, sport and tourism.

The document provides for deepening interaction in science, technology and production in the trends mapped out in the Comprehensive Program for the Techno-Scientific Progress of the CEMA Members States up to the Year 2000.

It pays special attention to the development and mastering of vanguard technologies in the different spheres of material production, to the comprehensive solution of the problems of the entire "research-development-production-realization" cycle, to the optimum use and wide introduction of progressive and highly efficient forms of cooperation in techno-scientific research, to joint production, to the setting up of joint teams, etc.

The two countries will strive to promote the direct contacts between their enterprises, institutes, economic corporations and ministries, to raise the role and the responsibility of the economic organizations in cooperation, to establish joint enterprises, production corporations, science and production and trade organizations.

Jakes Grants Interview

LD202019 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1630 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Excerpts] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, paid a friendly working visit to Bulgaria today. He was invited by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee. Ladislav Sakal, our Sofia correspondent, reports on the course of the visit.

[Sakal] [Passage omitted] Just before his departure for home, Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, granted the following interview to Czechoslovak journalists in Sofia:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Comrade General Secretary, a short while ago, the visit came to an end; you signed an agreement up to the year 2000 which virtually encompasses all branches of the national economy. Which of the areas would you designate as the main one?

[Jakes] I would say that the main sphere is engineering, particularly microelectronics and biotechnologies, since we have begun cooperation with Bulgaria in these spheres and if we develop it there can be good cooperation and specialization. What is special here is that we are developing long-term cooperation in the automobile industry, which already has its tradition. We want to progress to a higher degree of this cooperation, that is, to

set up the Liaz Madara joint enterprise for truck production. This is a very concrete sphere. In other areas too, we have good possibilities and conditions, particularly from the point of view of the future. It is important that we make the right investments and that our economies mutually develop.

[Unidentified correspondent] A number of enterprise collectives are now considering independence. Within the framework of this kind of deliberation, it is certainly possible to consider the plausibility of some other relations. How would this look in Bulgaria? Did you consider some new possibility of establishing direct relations?

[Jakes] As for direct relations, they already exist between Bulgarian enterprises and ours. It is even assumed that this will further expand. Naturally, one cannot decide upon this on the central level, but individual enterprises must be found that can complement one another so that there may be some economic gain. So there is some space, quite a considerable space, for agreements between the individual enterprises on this direct cooperation to actually be concluded. What we are concerned about, however, is that the cooperation involved should not be along existing lines, that is mutual visits and exchanges of experiences, but that future cooperation should be aimed at cooperation, above all, and at specialization, since this can be economically beneficial. There should not just be mutual visits and exchanges of knowledge. [end recording]

Communique on Visit Published

AU201834 Sofia BTA in English
1746 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Sofia, April 20 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Milos Jakes voiced the conviction that their talks, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, in the spirit of complete understanding and unity of the positions on all discussed questions, will contribute to the further deepening of the friendly friendship and the all around cooperation between Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, reads the communique on the friendly working visit of Mr Milos Jakes to this country, which has been issued here for publication.

The communique points out the full support voiced by the two leaders to the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty member-states for establishing of a world without nuclear weapons and violence, for restructuring of international relations in the spirit of the new political thinking.

Cardinal task in the sphere of nuclear disarmament today is the signing of a treaty between the USSR and the U.S. for a 50 percent reduction of the strategic offensive weapons at strict adherence to the ABM Treaty as it has been signed in 1972 and nonwithdrawal from it in a coordinated term.

Greeting the new comprehensive initiative of Czechoslovakia Mr Todor Zhivkov stood in support of the proposals of Czechoslovakia and the GDR for the establishing of a nuclear-free corridor and a zone free of chemical weapons in Central Europe.

Mr Milos Jakes expressed full support to Bulgaria's peace loving policy in the Balkans. He assessed highly the results of the Belgrade meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan states.

The communique stresses the support voiced by the two leaders to the new Soviet proposals for strengthening the stability and for development of the cooperation in the region of the Mediterranean.

The two party leaders stand for further consolidation of the unity of the international communist and workers movement. That process can be assisted by the realization of the number of valuable initiatives voiced at the Moscow meeting of the representatives of political parties and movements on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution celebrations.

The communique reflects the results achieved in the Bulgaro-Czechoslovak cooperation in all spheres and the planned new, more efficient forms for broadening of the cooperation.

The two leaders stand for accelerated realization of the restructuring in the mechanism of socialist economic integration and CEMA's activity, and for consistent implementation of the Comprehensive Program for Economic and Techno-Scientific Development of the CEMA Member States Till the Year 2000.

Jakes Departs 20 April

AU201829 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1730 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] On 20 April Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, departed from Bulgaria. Comrade Todor Zhivkov, who invited him to Bulgaria, most cordially bid him farewell at the Boyana Residence.

U.S. Action in Gulf Termed 'Unjustified'

AU201312 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Apr 88

[Georgi Nikolov commentary: "Military Intervention Is Unjustified"]

[Text] The conflict in the Persian Gulf has reached a point of high tension. Something that has always been considered a potential danger—the direct intervention of the United States in this conflict—has actually occurred.

On the U.S. side this operation is called a "measured response" to laying mines in international waters. The United States even declared that it was not seeking

"confrontation" with Iran. However, the Iranian "government should understand that the United States is defending its own vessels and its own interests."

Nevertheless, how should this action be described, if not as a confrontation? The United States and its NATO allies dispatched a large armada to the Persian Gulf on the pretext of trying to protect the "freedom of international navigation." However, there is no question of security. On the contrary, the "tanker war" not only did not stop, but was even intensified. Dozens of tankers were attacked and a few hundred sailors of different nationalities lost their lives. It appears that the United States is not so much concerned about the "safety of navigation" in the Persian Gulf, as about establishing its own military power in that area to control its own oil resources.

The international public was always concerned about the danger posed by the U.S. naval presence in the Persian Gulf. As we see, the warnings are justified. The U.S. presence neither contributed to the security of international navigation, nor helped to halt the Iran-Iraq war. It even more complicates the situation in that area.

The UN Security Council adopted Resolution No 598 in 1987, which appealed to Iran and Iraq to halt their military actions and begin peaceful negotiations. The United States supported this resolution, as well.

The path to peace in that area does not lead through armed attacks and arms rattling, but through the implementation of Resolution No 598 of the Security Council. An important step in this respect—as the Soviet Union has proposed on several occasions—is that all foreign naval forces should withdraw from the Persian Gulf and that military vessels of the United Nations, which will be able truly to guarantee safe international navigation, should be sent to the area.

Husak Announces New Federal Government

LD211509 Prague CTK in English
1426 GMT 21 Apr 88

[Text] Prague April 21 (CTK)—President Gustav Husak of Czechoslovakia appointed today a new federal government on a proposal of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and the Czechoslovak National Front Central Committee Presidium. The new government was sworn in later in the day.

Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal stressed in his address the need to consistently implement the political line ensuing from the 7th and 9th session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee.

He said the present period is one of the most complicated. "We must count with many unexpected phenomena that must be tackled, not only in the sphere of economic and social development but also in home and foreign policies where more initiative is necessary", he added.

Following is a list of Czechoslovak Federal Government members:

Lubomir Strougal, prime minister

Rudolf Rohlicek, first deputy prime minister

Ladislav Adamec, deputy prime minister

Peter Colotka, deputy prime minister

Svatopluk Potac, deputy prime minister and chairman of the State Planning Commission

Jaromir Obzina, deputy prime minister and chairman of the State Commission for Scientific-technological Development and Investments

Matej Lucan, deputy prime minister

Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs

Milan Vaclavik, minister of national defence

Vratislav Vajnar, minister of the interior

Jaromir Zak, minister of finance

Jan Sterba, minister of foreign trade

Miloslav Boda, minister of labour and social affairs

Vlastimil Ehrenberger, minister of fuel and power

Ladislav Gerle, minister of metallurgy, engineering and electrical engineering

Miroslav Toman, minister of agriculture and food

Vladimir Blazek, minister of transport and telecommunications

Pavel Hrivnak, minister in charge of the Federal Prices Office

Frantisek Ondrich, minister-chairman of the People's Control Committee of the Czechoslovak Soscialist Republic

Marian Calfa, minister without portfolio

President Gustav Husak said in his address inter alia that the program of the Czechoslovak Communist Party is supported by the majority of the people. "On the one hand it caused impatience whether we are not too slow in carrying out changes, and on the other hand concern about too fast and revolutionary transformations. Neither is correct. It is necessary to consistently implement all principles of restructuring, not to stop half-way, to win people for their implementation", he said.

The president said Czechoslovakia makes use also of foreign experience as many socialist countries pursue a similar path. "When people subscribe to the ideas of restructuring and understand them, the absolute majority will support the party Central Committee and the government, though sometimes conflicts may occur-...however, we are only at the beginning of important changes", he said.

He noted there was still a great deal of rigidity and mechanical approaches in state bodies and social organizations, which must be eliminated more quickly. Each government member must set an example in his branch in implementing the policy of the party. In this context President Husak stressed that the party will not substitute state and other bodies and therefore responsibility for the solution of tasks will rest with government members and executives. The Federal Government also has an important national coordinating function, the president added.

RUDE PRAVO Analyzes Changes

LD210743 Prague CTK in English
0619 GMT 21 Apr 88

[Text] Prague April 21 (CTK)—This week's reorganization of Czechoslovak government bodies is "the beginning of changes which will concern the entire sphere of economic control and which mean a consistent switchover from a three- to two-level organization of management".

"They are to make the process of management more flexible as well as more economical", RUDE PRAVO wrote editorially today.

The changes in the federal and national governments will cut the number of their members by about one-fifth, the number of deputy ministers will be reduced by several

dozens. The staff of the central bodies is to be cut by about 30 per cent. Many more employees will be released in connection with the conversion to two-level management (i.e. ministry-state enterprise). Together with the reorganization of state administration this represents thousands of people, the paper said.

The shifts of manpower will be distinct especially in the capital, Prague, where federal and national bodies together with the middle level of management have approximately 36,000 employees at present. Of these, some 11,500 managers, technical, economic and administrative workers, mostly university and secondary school graduates, will change their jobs.

It would be incorrect to see the process as a mere reduction in the staff of the managing bodies. The process must be aimed primarily at ensuring the growth of quality and performance of the managing apparatus and at a good and effective use of the released workers primarily in places and professions where manpower has been lacking so far. No doubt that territorial links for family, housing and other reasons will have to be considered in the manpower shifts. Basically, however, it is clear that no one will be left without a job, without purposeful use of his abilities, the paper wrote.

Government Appoints New Ministers
LD211233 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1200 GMT 21 Apr 88

[Text] In Prague today the Czech National Council Presidium, chaired by Josef Kempny, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Czech National Council, announced laws approved by the 10th session of the Council.

Also, on the basis of the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak Federation, it accepted the resignation of Zdenek Horcik and Rudolf Hegenbart, Czech deputy premiers; Nasta Baumrukova, Czech minister of labor and social affairs; Milan Klusak, Czech minister of culture; and Josef Jung, Czech minister of interior; and thanked them for their work.

The Czech National Council Presidium, according to a proposal from the Czech premier and after discussion by the Central Committee Presidium of the Czech National Front according to the Constitutional Law on the Czechoslovak Federation, then appointed Milan Kimlicek Czech minister of culture and Vaclav Jirecek Czech minister of interior and the environment. The newly appointed members of the Czech Government were sworn in by the chairman of the Czech National Council in the manner prescribed by the Constitution.

Bill Authorizes Slovak Reorganization
LD201723 Prague CTK in English 1205 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Bratislava April 20 (CTK)—The Slovak National Council, the supreme legislative body of Slovakia, today passed a bill on the reorganization of Slovak ministries and other bodies of central administration.

The ninth session of the council was attended by Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium members Ignac Janak, first secretary of the Slovak Communist Party, and Peter Colotka, Slovak premier.

In an expose on the bill, Peter Colotka said that the new law will be among measures connected with the restructuring of the economic mechanism to safeguard the program of speeding up socio-economic development, set by the latest congresses of the Czechoslovak and Slovak Communist Parties. The changes are being made to increase the efficiency and quality of work of the central organs. In harmony with the economic and social policy of Czechoslovakia, the central organs will secure proportionate regional development in Slovakia, its infrastructure, and supervision of national committees.

The new organization of bodies of state administration is to make them able to organize social development and efficiently help implement the state policy in the stage of the restructuring of the economic mechanism, Peter Colotka said.

The following Slovak ministries and other central bodies of state administration will be abolished under the new law:

—The Commission for Scientific-Technological Development and Investments
—The Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs
—The Price Office
—The Press and Information Office

Their work will be done by other central organs. Changes in the organization and competence will affect several ministries.

Slovakia will have the following ministries and central bodies, headed by members of the Slovak Government:

—Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technological Development
—Ministry of Finance, Prices and Wages
—Ministry of Construction and the Building Industry
—Ministry of Education, Youth and Physical Training
—Ministry of Culture
—Ministry of Health and Social Affairs
—Ministry of Justice
—Ministry of the Interior and Living Environment
—Ministry of Industry
—Ministry of Agriculture and Food
—Ministry of Forestry, Water Economy and Wood-Processing Industry
—Ministry of Trade and Tourism
—Committee of People's Control

Changes Announced

LD211248 Prague CTK in English
1126 GMT 21 Apr 88

[Text] Bratislava April 21 (CTK)—The Slovak National Council Presidium accepted today the resignations of several Slovak Government members, appointed new ones and amended the competence of others in line with the changed jurisdiction of ministries announced on Wednesday.

The outgoing government members, who resigned in connection with the adoption of the new legislation changing the structure and competence of ministries and other central bodies in Slovakia, are: First Deputy Premier Julius Hanus, Deputy Premier Jaroslav Kansky, Minister of Trade Jaroslav Zelka and Minister of Justice Jan Pjescak.

The Slovak National Council Presidium appointed Stefan Murin Slovak deputy premier and Milan Cic minister of justice.

It charged the other government members with the following portfolios:

—Pavol Bahyl, deputy premier and chairman of the Slovak Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technological Development,

—Frantisek Miseje, minister of finance, prices and wages,

—Dusan Miklanek, minister of construction and the building industry,

—Ludovit Kilar, minister of education, youth and physical training,

—Eva Tokolyova, minister of health and social affairs,

—Stefan Lazar, minister of the interior and living environment,

—Vladimir Margetin, minister of forestry, water economy and the wood-processing industry

—Kazimir Nagy, minister of trade and tourism.

The new government members were sworn in by Slovak National Council Chairman Viliam Salgovic.

Miroslav Valek remains minister of culture and Julius Varga minister of agriculture and food, and the jurisdiction of their ministires remains unchanged. Stefan Urban remains minister of industry, with the wood-processing industry formerly under its competence now passed under the ministry of forestry, water economy and the wood-processing industry.

The Committee of People's Control continues to be headed by Minister-Chairman Stefan Ferencei.

After the changes, the Slovak Government consists of prime minister, two deputy premiers and twelve ministers.

CPSL Congratulates Lenart on His New Post

AU200846 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
15 Apr 88 p 4

["CPSL Central Committee Letter to Comrade Jozef Lenart"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Lenart: You were at the head of the CPSL Central Committee for many years. We sincerely thank you for everything you did while holding that post. You became first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee at a time when our party and all society was entering the period of consolidation after the years of crisis at the end of the 1960's. The fact that our party mastered all difficult and demanding tasks in that period is greatly to your credit.

We highly value your exemplary care for the growth and unity of the party and its ability to act, and we value you efforts to assert Leninist principles in the buildup of the party, in its internal life, and in implementing its leading role in society. The fact that the CPSL constitutes a firm combat division of the CPCZ and the Slovak SR is a dynamically developing part of our Czechoslovak socialist fatherland is largely to your credit. You have done much to enhance the standard of political consciousness in Slovakia, to improve party work, deepen democracy within the party, and strengthen ties between the party and the people.

Especially in the current party's endeavor to accelerate the socioeconomic development of society, comprehensively restructure the economic mechanism, and deepen socialist democracy, we realize more fully the importance and the overall contribution of your pioneer work. Your efforts in asserting scientific-technical progress deserve particular attention.

With your experience and erudition you helped many people seek and find a way out of difficult problems.

Your Czechoslovak socialist patriotism is combined with profound international feeling. Your ardent affinity for the Soviet people and their Communist Party, in particular, is a convincing expression of that. It is only natural that the Leninist, innovative approaches of Soviet Communists in the construction of socialism are not only intrinsic to you, but that you are also purposefully asserting them in our life.

You have the trust and respect of Communists, of our entire general public for your exemplary diligence, unconditional loyalty to socialism, moral integrity, comradely relationship toward people, and personal modesty. All who have come to know you from work and from direct human contacts, like you.

Dear Comrade Lenart, the ninth CPCZ Central Committee session elected you a secretary and member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat. We sincerely congratulate you on the election to this high and responsible post. We thank you for the work done to date as the head of the CPSL Central Committee, and at the same time wish you further successes in your work in your new function as secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. We are absolutely convinced that you will master the tasks which the party has entrusted you with in the demanding period of restructuring, that you will master them for the benefit of the contemporary socialist development of our society, for the well-being of the working people, our fraternal nations and nationalities.

We assure you that agencies and organizations of the CPSL will provide effective, constant, and systematic support to the CPCZ Central Committee and to you, personally.

We wish you plentiful new energy, robust health, success in your work, and happiness in your private life.

TANJUG Assesses CSSR Cadre Changes

LD211412 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1328 GMT 21 Apr 88

[By Savo Bosanac]

[Text] Prague, April 21 (TANJUG)—The biggest cadre changes for the past 18 years are apparently under way in Czechoslovakia.

During only five days in April, over 40 officials were assigned to various posts in the central leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and its territorial organization in Slovakia.

It is argued that the cadre changes are motivated, above all, by the complex tasks to arise from the economic reforms and other changes already prepared in Czechoslovak society, the meaning of which is highlighted by citing the motto of the Soviet perestroyka- "more democracy, more socialism."

In making the cadre changes, the party leadership proceeds from the conviction that the cadre policy is the key to a successful implementation of reforms. Thus, at the party Central Committee session in Prague earlier this month, secretary general Milos Jakes emphasized the need for the "most capable, best qualified persons, professionally and politically, and with desirable moral qualities" to occupy leading positions.

The biggest changes were made in the Communist Party of Slovakia. [word indistinct] 18 years, Jozef Lenart left the post of first secretary of the Slovak party and was elected to the Czechoslovak Party Central Committee as one of its secretaries and chairman on its economic commission.

Lenart was succeeded by Ignac Janak, a secretary of the Slovak Party Central Committee and, since April, member of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Party Central Committee. Janak, 57, is the youngest member of the present Presidium.

The policy of rejuvenation of leading party bodies is even more evidence in case of Miroslav Stepan, 42, who comes at the head of the country's largest party organization in Prague and thus also to the Secretariat of the Czechoslovak Party Central Committee.

No reasons were given for the retirement request lodged by Stepan's precedessor, Antonin Kapek, 65, but observers believe that they are of a political nature.

After a long period as alternate member, Jan Fojtik was elected member of the Presidium. It is believed that in due time, Fojtik will succeed Vasil Bilak at the head of the party's ideological commission.

Jakes Speaks on Party Work, Restructuring

AU180825 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
14 Apr 88 p 3

["From the speech by Comrade Milos Jakes," general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at an "aktiv on topical questions of party work in the conditions of restructuring the economic mechanism and developing socialist democracy" organized by the CPCZ Central Committee's Advanced School of Politics and the CPCZ Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism, at the CPCZ Central Committee's Advanced School of Politics in Prague on 13 April: "We Urgently Need Profound Theoretical Knowledge"]

[Text] Comrade Milos Jakes discussed in detail the results of the ninth session of the CPCZ Central Committee. He stressed that this important session has provided the party and its agencies and organizations with a clear line and directions for restructuring the content, style, and methods of work for them to meet the requirements of the present. The CPCZ must stand in the forefront of restructuring and establish conditions and prerequisites for the activation of the human factor and for the development of socialist democracy. This cannot be achieved by mere words, but only by specific deeds and by exemplary and selfless work. Unity, the ability of party agencies and organizations to take action, and an active approach by all Communists to the solution of the important tasks and urgent questions of accelerating socioeconomic development—this is the key to deepening the party's leading role.

In the next part of his speech, Comrade Milos Jakes dealt with the current tasks of social sciences and of the pedagogic and scientific activity of the CPCZ Central Committee's Advanced School of Politics and the CPCZ Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism in connection with the line of restructuring and democratization and with the requirements outlined by the seventh and ninth sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Increasing Demands on Social Sciences [subhead]

The changes taking place in economic and political life, Milos Jakes went on to say, will increasingly and more directly affect the minds and the psychology of people and their interests and standing in society, and will influence their thinking and conduct. All of this together also puts new and higher demands on ideological work in the party and throughout society and confronts the ideological front and our propaganda and agitation with new tasks. Therefore, we stressed at the Central Committee session that only a planned, coordinated, and consistent course of action in the economic, political, and ideological fields can yield the requisite results. Such a course of action can be ensured only by the party as the cementing force of society.

When speaking about ideological activity, we are also thinking of theoretical work as its major component, all the more so because in tackling the tasks of the current stage, the party will not make do without the theoretical elaboration of a number of issues. The main thing on which we must concentrate the efforts of our theoretical front is primarily working out in detail the theoretical issues of socialism, searching for answers to the needs of social practice, and finding of these answers. It is in this context that questions are coming to the fore, such as those of continuity and discontinuity in the building and development of socialism and the uncovering of everything that, on the one hand, is new, accelerates the development of the socialist society, strengthens the positions of socialism, and builds on everything positive in our past, developing it on a new level, and the uncovering of everything that, on the other hand, holds us back and is an obstacle to socialist development.

The well-known proposition that revolutionary practice is impossible without revolutionary theory thus comes to the fore with particular urgency at present. For this reason demands on social sciences are greatly increasing. Their basic theoretical task can be formulated as follows: Contemporary socialism must, first and foremost, get to know itself. Among the most important fields of study in the social sciences today are problems concerning the acceleration of the socioeconomic development of our country and the democratization of society's life, and the analysis of social processes in the current stage. In order to successfully outline the long-term strategy for the development of our society, it is necessary to substantially enhance prognostication in the social sciences because without comprehensively worked out socioeconomic projections and forecasts it is impossible to successfully direct the socioeconomic development of society and the education of man. This requires social scientists to find the courage to face even those problems that have not yet been addressed in political resolutions, and not to confine their role to that of the mere commentators of social processes or party resolutions. We expect the representatives of the theoretical front to be bold and ideologically mature cocreators of party policy.

The social sciences must form in people the awareness of the need for a change in the methods of activity and for transition to a new type of behavior, one rejecting carefree attitudes; they must combat skepticism and cynicism in the approach to new ideas.

Restructuring charges us, not only practically but also from the theoretical viewpoint, with the task of qualitatively developing socialism as a whole, and not just with improving its individual aspects. At the same time we regard it as self-evident that restructuring does not rule out the improvement of the forms of social life, but that it is its outright initiator.

What Matters Is a Dialectical Approach [subhead]

Therefore, the demand for a comprehensive approach to the analysis of the interaction of various spheres and manifestations of social life is unusually important. What matters is a dialectical approach that takes into consideration the complex interdependence of production forces and relations, of the economic base and the superstructure, of policy and economy, of centralism and democracy, and of social, but also group and personal, interests, while also considering international influences. The fact is that—if we want to avoid simplifications, of which there were quite a few in the past and which always did harm—we must comprehensively deal with the complex laws of restructuring. This requires extensive knowledge of social processes and the ability to scientifically forecast the primary and secondary impacts of our policy.

It must be noted that our social sciences have so far failed to sufficiently fulfill their mission in this respect. They do not submit substantiated proposals and recommendations for the solution of problems that have come to a head, they show little initiative and do not sufficiently galvanize people's awareness into action; and their work is often detached from life. Sometimes it seems to us as if many people working in the social sciences have been taken by surprise by the policy of restructuring. What other explanation could there be for the fact that so few economic, philosophical, and, for instance, sociological works exist that deal with the present—works on which it would really be possible to lean in devising political decisions? We are thus compelled to solve some issues of our further development in what is essentially an empirical way, and this naturally carries potential risks with it.

Of course, we cannot afford to wait. We are being pressed by life and are thus forced to deal with some questions of principle "as we go along," often without availing ourselves of profound theoretical analysis and substantiation. However, it is clear that we urgently need to make, in a relatively short time, a comprehensive and sufficiently deep and critical analysis of the state and tendencies of our society's development. This analysis should also define the causes of the emergence of various negative phenomena, especially those which, if not dealt with, threaten to grow into crisis situations and which are a factor hampering development in individual spheres of social life. Of course, the aim is not just to criticize these phenomena, however harshly, but to find and define the ways leading to their actual elimination.

We very urgently need to base our entire strategy of restructuring on much more accurate information about people's needs, about their dynamism, and about their motivating strength in the sphere of applying scientific-technical development. We need forecasts of economic and social development, paying due regard to trends in the development of socialism and the world at large. We also need more accurate information to be able to programmatically express our targets proceeding, among other things, from the content of the historical role of the workers class and of the working people's alliance at present and in the near future. This essentially means working out in depth the theoretical concept of the coming stage of the development of our society in the conditions of the present-day world. Along with this it is essential to improve, on the theoretical foundations of Marxism-Leninism, the specific mechanisms of the implementation of this revolutionary development. It is generally known that the basic factor of accelerating socioeconomic development is the broadest possible activation of all creative potentials of the working people, proceeding from a profound understanding of the content of social restructuring and from its actual implementation. Connected with this is the task of improving existing methods, or finding and formulating new optimal methods, for motivating individual groups of the working people under the new conditions of socialist entrepreneurship, while respecting the principles of social justice.

Path Toward Overcoming Errors and Mistakes [subhead]

This critical assessment of the situation in the social sciences does not mean disregard for the fact that they have achieved a certain level of development and have elaborated or at least drawn attention to various relevant problems and questions concerning the development of socialism. Nonetheless, the criticism of their isolation from life and from practical demands is generally justified and correct. Enough speculative approaches, diffidence, cautiousness, and conformism have accumulated in them.

Stagnation is especially grave in the development of the theory of Marxism-Leninism where we often come across abstractness, generalities, platitudes, and even dogmatic approaches. At many places this has even been projected into the teaching of Marxism-Leninism at universities and colleges. Students have often been directed to memorize precepts and catchphrases, instead of being taught to think creatively and to reflect on what surrounds them. The point is also to rid the teaching of Marxism-Leninism of its excessive historical thrust and make it the living foundation of a permanent world outlook and orientation of young people. It will also be appropriate to reexamine the curriculum with these things in mind and to adapt the teaching of Marxism-Leninism to individual types of schools. Most likely, it will also be correct to prepare new textbooks. These should familiarize the students with basic Marxist-Leninist knowledge in such a way as to animate their creative thinking and be a contribution to their orientation in lives and professions.

We must restore the creative and dialectical spirit of Marxism-Leninism and of its concept of the world being in constant motion and in the process of transformation, to which it is necessary to adapt one's thinking and which must also be reflected in the development of scientific theory. We must creatively, realistically, and with a high sense of social and political responsibility examine the trends of socialist transformations, without closing our eyes to contradictions in social development. Scientific theory must proceed from a consistently dialectical-materialist approach to social reality. This should, in our opinion, be the expression of the new thinking in this area. Only in this way is it possible to guard against presenting wishes as reality, the attainable as the attained, that which belongs to the future as something belonging to the present, and so forth. The true development of Marxist-Leninist theory rests in the concrete analysis of a situation. This is also the path toward overcoming various antiquated notions and views, mistakes and errors, and the prerequisite for the restoration of creative Marxist-Leninist thinking.

Creative Marxism-Leninism always exposes, rather than disguises. "Today we...constantly return to Vladimir Ilich Lenin, to his thoughts and ideas. This is not just an expression of immense respect for and recognition of Lenin's authority. It is an endeavor to restore under current conditions, and as fully as possible, the spirit of Leninism," Mikhail Gorbachev said at the January 1987 session of the CPSU Central Committee.

Noxious Departmentalism [subhead]

A sober and businesslike assessment of development thus far and of its successes and mistakes is also necessary in the social sciences. Everything in this development must be approached free of bias, critically, honestly, and candidly.

It must also be said that one of the frequent obstacles to the development of scientific work is a departmental approach to the solution of problems. Scholars working in one field are not sufficiently familiar with events in another field and are unable to take over stimulating advances made in other spheres and to creatively develop them. This goes for the natural and technical sciences, as well as for the social sciences. Yet it is precisely in the present period of the dynamic development of a number of fields of science in the sphere of both animate and inanimate nature that also the social sciences must lean on their results and draw on them in studying the laws of social development. [sentence as published] In a similar way, the cognitive foundation of the social sciences should also serve as the methodological mainstay of the exact sciences. The need to synthesize knowledge applies all the more to the social sciences, which must enrich one another through a number of valuable stimuli. Let us mention, for instance: philosophy, which should serve as the natural methodological foundation of other sciences; psychology, which, today at a time of the growing importance of the subjective factor, should provide suggestions for the proper organization and development of labor collectives; political economics, which should provide information on the improvement of the economic mechanism; and so forth. Experience shows that in the present stage no scientific discipline can do without the findings and insights arrived at by other sciences.

Achieving a symbiosis between science and life, between science and practice, between science and the specific tasks of restructuring and accelerating socioeconomic development, between science and the new realities brought forth by the development of our society and the world—this is the basic requirement with which the 17th party congress confronted our front of social sciences, a requirement that was reemphasized with new urgency by the conclusions of the seventh and ninth sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee. As pointed out at the ninth session of the CPCZ Central Committee, we intend to return to these issues at one of the next sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee, before this year is out, in the process of assessing the entire complex concerning the development of ideological work under the conditions of restructuring and democratization of society.

However, even today it is clear that in the future we will be unable to continue reconciling ourselves with a situation in which immaterial problems are often dealt with while the principal and most topical issues are shelved, or are addressed insufficiently or abstractly, sometimes even with the argument that the formulation of the social tasks was too general. Activity and initiative must dominate even in scientific work. No society can afford the luxury of providing funds for activities which do not yield effect in the long run. If the results are not adequate to the invested means and capacities, efficient remedial measures must be taken.

The attainment of better results undeniably also depends on the organization of scientific work—that is, on the structure of its institutions and on their cooperation and coordination. We touched on these issues in the Presidium report at the ninth session of the CPCZ Central Committee. The issue is to break through departmental barriers for the benefit of a more comprehensive approach to the solution of problems, for the benefit of enhancing the efficiency of procedures in organizing and supervising scientific research, for the benefit of demanding challenge procedures [oponovani] concerning both intermediate and final research outputs, for the benefit of an optimal motivation of teams of researchers, and so forth. It is also a question of material provisions for research and of ensuring information for it. In short, a whole number of problems exists in this area that must be speedily tackled.

Pondering Methods of Work [subhead]

Work is currently being completed on an analysis of the state of social sciences at workplaces of the Academy of Sciences, at universities, and at individual departments and institutes of Marxism-Leninism. It is essential that the work done thus far be assessed exactingly, that all capacities be scanned [zmapovat], and that the opportunities for their activation for the benefit of the solution of current tasks be put to use. The already carried out, or rather, ongoing analysis of the party workplaces of social sciences can serve as a certain guide in this respect. Besides, it is necessary to critically assess the fulfillment of the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan in the sphere of science and to do everything that can be done for a good preparation of the Ninth 5-Year Plan. The basic priorities connected with the solution of problems of the current restructuring of society must be formulated in a very exacting manner and using nontraditional approaches. This must be coupled with a responsibly drafted projection and forecast of social development at the turn of the 21st century and in its first decade.

The new demands on the content of social sciences also require that we thoroughly ponder the methods of scientific work applied thus far and that we seek effective innovative approaches.

First of all, it is necessary to proceed from the premise that one can only speak about science and the acquisition of scientific knowledge when it yields new findings, solves new problems, discovers hitherto unknown connections, and uncovers new facts. The solution of what has already been solved and the repetition of familiar positions, perhaps only in a different context, may often be necessary and sometimes even beneficial, but it is not science in the true sense of the word. This can be useful propaganda, pedagogic activity, and praiseworthy polemics with the adversary's propaganda, but it cannot on its own live up to the main mission of science, which is to discern the deep-seated connections of matters, to seek and show paths toward the solution of burning current problems, and to outline the options of the prospects of further development. Therefore, the basic yardstick in assessing scientific work must be, and will be

in future, to what measure scientific workplaces, teams of researchers, or, as appropriate, individual scholars deal with new and hitherto unsolved problems and to what degree their activity generates new and revealing knowledge that is of practical importance.

Comrades, when we ask which are the most important tasks in social scientific research—especially in the economic sciences, in Marxist-Leninist philosophy, and in scientific communism—that are coming to the fore at present, we will see that these are, first and foremost, problems such as the economic, political, and ideological aspects of accelerating the socioeconomic development of society, the laws and principles of socialist building, the symbiosis of the advantages of socialism with the scientific-technical revolution, or the impact of policy on the development of the other spheres of society, particularly the economy. Also of exceptional importance are the study of the mechanisms determining the interaction of individual subjects in the political system, the study of the development of socialist democracy and self-management by the people, and research into the shaping of the social awareness of the working people, into the formation of the socialist way of life, and into the factors that determine the development and utilization of the social activity of the working people. It will also be necessary to explain in depth and work out theoretically issues such as the role of the masses and of the personality in history, socialist ownership of the means of production and its internal structure, the stages of the development of socialism and the specific features of the contradictions that are typical of individual stages, the practical importance of the correct solution of these contradictions, and the relationship between the general and the specific and between the objective and the subjective.

The solution of theoretical questions concerning cooperation between socialist countries, the international division of labor, and cooperation within CEMA, questions concerning the coexistence between the two systems and the preservation of world peace, the role of the international workers and communist movement and of progressive movements in the nuclear age, the global problems of mankind, and so forth, must not be left out of consideration either.

Nor should we avoid a well-founded analysis and criticism of anticommunist, reformist, and revisionist attacks on the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. However, it is necessary to take care that specific conclusions are drawn from this that can be used by our propaganda; in this connection, it is necessary to seek stimuli for our propaganda offensive.

Truthful Analysis of History [subhead]

A separate issue is the development of historical studies. We also need, especially now, to purposefully unite patriotic and internationalist guidance, particularly of the youth. Without a truthful analysis of our old and modern history, and without acquainting the public with its conclusions, such a goal would be hardly attainable. This naturally also concerns the history of the Communist Party and its teaching at schools. For this reason we urgently need a serious and principled textbook of the history of the CPCZ. The party leadership expects such a textbook to be completed by 1991, the year of the 70th anniversary of the CPCZ, at the latest.

In solving the demanding problems of the present, our front of social sciences is not alone. It avails itself of great possibilities of international cooperation, especially with scientific research centers and institutions in the socialist counties, notably in the Soviet Union. However, even in this sphere it is necessary to increase the effectiveness of cooperation and to reach specific results that are useful for social practice. It is a fact that a number of research projects have been carried out in international cooperation, that dozens of monographs have been written, a number of anthologies issued, and many large or small conferences and symposiums organized; it is a fact that delegations are being exchanged and scholars are being sent abroad for work and study assignments and postgraduate studies. But the results often do not match the efforts and means invested. And this is not just our Czechoslovak view. The criterion of resultant efficiency applies to all spheres of our activity; this efficiency must be sought everywhere and anchored in the very programs of cooperation. Contacts in this sphere, which are still too official and thus also formal, should become working contacts in the true sense of the word.

Exceptional attention must be devoted to the education and training of scientific cadres. The current level of the development of production forces and social relations requires that the best university graduates devote themselves to scientific work in the natural, technical, and also the social sciences. The preparation of scientific cadres must be systematic and well thought out. Within the framework of postgraduate studies we must provide future scientists with the best our society has to offer. However, at the same time we cannot uncritically sit back and watch when scientific training takes much longer than is provided for in the relevant regulations, when the topics of doctoral theses focus on marginal issues, and when their quality is assessed in a very lenient way.

The party's scientific and scientific-pedagogical institutions play an indispensable role in the party's cognitive [poznavaci] activity, as well as in the development of social sciences in general. Although their tasks are connected with those of the entire front of social sciences, because a number of research tasks—also within the framework of the state plan of basic research—are coordinated and are being solved by them, their actual mission is actually different. Above all, they must theoretically work out problems of intraparty life, of mechanisms of intraparty management and the party's leadership of society, problems regarding the influence of the

party on other aspects of the political system and social life as a whole, and problems of political-organizational and ideoeducational work. What is involved is research in spheres where it is necessary to combine research work with the concrete practice of the political leadership. Another task of the party's socioscientific institutions is the analysis of the history of the CPCZ and the entire communist and workers movement. This must be done in a way that avoids any "blank spots," so that the research work allows a truthful generalization of successes, as well as shortcomings and their causes, that is needed to resolve contemporary practical issues. The generalization of the experience of the CPSU and of the other communist and workers parties gained from socialist construction, and especially from the process of social restructuring and the way this process is guided by the party, are of immense value for our further course in the present stage. The planned 19th All-Union CPSU Conference will certainly yield considerable inspiration in this respect.

Greater Input of Education Into the Realization of Restructuring [subhead]

In addition to all these long-term tasks, all party, scientific, and scientific-pedagogical institutions must become even more involved in preparing theoretical analyses and positions on specific issues of party work, the purpose of which is to prepare for the deliberations of party agencies, especially the CPCZ Central Committee. We expect that selected information and a number of theoretically substantiated and specific recommendations for the solution of practical issues will be submitted to the appropriate CPCZ Central Committee agencies and departments. We assume that the scientific activity of these institutions will be oriented in conjunction with the party's strategic line and that its direct links with political practice will be enhanced. Scientific works, especially those produced by the party's theoretical institutions and intended for leading agencies, must have the nature of factual and concise expertise that contain specific practical—and sometimes even alternative—proposals and recommendations.

We in the party leadership realize that many things must change in this respect. Flexible contacts and discussions between leading party representatives and qualified cadres of both our party institutions—the CPCZ Central Committee's Advanced School of Politics and the CPCZ Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism—should be the rule. This would be of benefit to both parties. It is necessary to organize discussions on key important materials, and after the CPCZ Central Committee's sessions, to provide information to the staff of the school and the institute about the fundamental decisions, and thus draw them into political life to a greater degree.

The Advanced School of Politics holds an important place and, one can say, has the main responsibility for training highly qualified party cadres. The training of cadres cannot be carried out without the creative development of the legacy of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and without systematic research into the party's experience, into the development of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries, and into the international communist and workers movement as a whole. A systematic study of the economic and social processes taking place in society and of the processes that improve the political system and its democratization is also of exceptional importance for pedagogic-educational work. The unity of pedagogic and scientific-educational work at such institutions must be based on the closest possible links with the practice of the party and its Central Committee. We know that the teachers at the school are working in various aktivs and work teams for the CPCZ Central Committee, and that they are compiling publications and writing expert essays and propaganda speeches. We value this work. However, now is not the time to pat ourselves on the back and praise ourselves. Restructuring is society in dynamic motion. We now need much more restructuring and, therefore, we rightly expect the school's teachers to become involved with much greater intensity than to date in the processes of the realization of the policy of restructuring; we expect them to work out to a greater extent the methods for mobilizing the party's primary organizations and all Communists, to contribute to the clarification of the mechanism for implementing the party's leading role in the development of socialist democracy, to a more profoundly comprehend the tasks of politics in managing socioeconomic processes, and to contribute to the comprehension and systematic improvement of the changes being introduced into the economic mechanism and the development of our working people's socialist consciousness.

Good prerequisites have been created for the further improvement of the school's work. The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium recently discussed a report on the activity of the CPCZ Central Committee's Advanced School of Politics, approved proposals for the restructuring of the pedagogic process, for organizational changes in scientific work, and for the establishment of special institutes. However, you know very well that organizational measures are only an important external condition for improving work. The entire educational process at the CPCZ Central Committee's Advanced School of Politics in Prague and its department in Bratislava must be oriented toward training staff members who are dedicated to the party and the people and who are genuine innovators with profound understanding of the need for qualitative changes in our society and with the capability of creatively asserting the party's strategic line; becoming actively involved in the process of restructuring and democratization of society, the state, and the party; and devoting all their energy to a common task to ensure its success.

Teachers at the CPCZ Central Committee's Advanced School of Politics must be equal to the demands arising from the restructuring and democratization of society;

must have a creative approach to pedagogic and scientific activity; must have a tendency to be dissatisfied with what has been achieved; and must possess the great talent for passing on their knowledge, experience, and attitude to students. The faculty must be systematically complemented by talented and prominent lecturers from the socioscientific sphere who are dedicated to the party and politically experienced. Not only must the way of thinking by the party's entire top-level theoretical aktiv change, but that of the school's teachers must also. They must also identify themselves with the spirit of the times, the tasks of political restructuring, and the dynamization of the potentials of the socialist society.

If the Advanced School of Politics and its department in Bratislava are the party's basic scientific-pedagogical institution, then the CPCZ Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism is its fundamental theoretical institution. In addition to currently working on an analysis of the institute's activity, they are above all working on its fundamental orientation for the future.

Results of Research Are the Basis of Efficient Decisions [subhead]

The situation is all the more complex because the existing activities of the CPCZ Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism have their origin in the period of consolidation at the beginning of the 1970's and the resulting tasks only began to take their final shape and become modified and expanded in the subsequent stage. In the beginning the institute's orientation was influenced by the fact that the socioscientific front and theoretical-political journalism were ideologically weakened—including from the viewpoint of capacities and possibilities—and therefore the institute was fulfilling many multifaceted, and often even marginal, tasks which did not allow its staff members to fully concentrate on fundamental scientific and theoretical chores.

We value the fact that the institute has been helping the CPCZ Central Committee with its expert activity, but succeeded only partly in influencing the broader socioscientific front. The standard of the institute's findings is being reduced by research tasks that are too broad and extensive. It has yielded only a few truly innovative theoretical solutions to the fundamental issues of the development of socialism in the CSSR and the role of the party in the current stage. Nor has it succeeded in developing theoretical discussions to the extent necessary for the output to reflect the creative standard of the collective or for one to synthesize and utilize its multidisciplinary nature as well as its prominent position in the system of social sciences as a whole.

Thus partial and formalistic amendments alone are not enough when drafting the concept for the institute's further activity. Further effective work requires substantial changes in the orientation and methods of theoretical research, in the institute's ties with the highest party bodies, in the manner of internal management, in the solution of cadre questions, as well as in the creation of the necessary material prerequisites.

Enhancing the cognitive standard of the institute's activity requires that its main research orientation be more accurately defined. The scope of the research will have to be assessed. Careful consideration will have to be given to decide on what to concentrate fundamental attention and, possibly, what will have to be eliminated in its activity and transferred to other socioscientific worksites. The efforts of the CPCZ Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism will have to be oriented toward research and the elaboration of issues that are vitally important for the further development of the party and society under the new conditions, and toward the pivotal aspects of the implementation of the party's leading role in the process of the acceleration of the CSSR's socioeconomic, political, and intellectual development, and in the process aimed at restructuring and democratization of society. At the same time it is necessary for the CPCZ Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism to be a reliable theoretical rear area [zazemi] for party agencies and to be able to effectively utilize the results of theoretical research in the preparation of documentation for the CPCZ Central Committee's conceptual decision-making.

When asserting the party line for general improvement and effective activity of the two party theoretical institutions, we also place great demands on party organizations that are active in them. Currently, their main task is to motivate Communists, assist the leadership of the school and the institute in creating an atmosphere of exactingness and openness in which people, who can and want to devote their energy to creative work for the party, and for the development of Marxist-Leninist theory, will enjoy security and will be able to make themselves useful.

However, at the same time we presume that party organizations will adopt a clear stand on people who have become used to an easy and carefree life without conflicts; for whom work in the party's theoretical institutes has become not the purpose of their life, but a source of easy living; and who direct their activity, not for the party's benefit, but for purely personal benefit.

More Political Courage [subhead]

What should be said in conclusion? A profound and creative elaboration of the Marxist-Leninist theory is one of the main prerequisites for successful socialist construction and for mastering the bold objectives of the restructuring and democratization of society. Current times put qualitatively new demands on the social sciences' teaching methods and on their scientific research and ideoeducational work. Your institutions should be genuine fonts of creative and truly scientific thinking, in which consistent respect for the methodology of dialectical materialism is natural while learning about the true

state of society and especially while positively resolving all problems and formulating realistic tasks connected with further development. We expect the teachers of the CPCZ Central Committee's Advanced School of Politics, as well as the scientists of the CPCZ Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism, to display political courage and militancy so that their creative input to solving the tasks facing us will increase.

I would like to thank you for your work to date and, at the same time, express the conviction that you will be fully committed to the party policy in the coming period. You can continue to fully count on the full support of the party leadership, who are well aware that your work is indispensable and through its quality markedly contributes to the further strengthening of the influence and effectiveness of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in the life of our party and society as a whole.

Jakes Returns From Bulgaria, Met by Bilak
LD201644 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, returned early this evening from his friendly working visit to Bulgaria where he had been invited by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the State Council. Meeting Comrade Milos Jakes at Ruzyne Airport were Vasil Bilak, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and other representatives.

Reason for Quarterly Economic Reporting Noted
AU201620 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 16 Apr 88 p 2

[Jiri Leschtina article in the "Commentary" column: "Let Us Listen to Warning Figures"]

[Excerpts] For the very first time the Federal Statistical Office has published a quarterly report. But what has made it decide to present statistical data every 3 months instead of every 6 months as has been the case to date? "The need to acquaint our public with the state of our economy more openly and in a greater detail," said V. Micka, chairman of the Federal Statistical Office, at a press conference yesterday [15 April]. [passage omitted]

As we were informed yesterday, the decision of the Federal Statistical Office to publish a report every 3 months has met with resistance from many production organizations, which call, as V. Micka put it, "for a reduction in the burden of providing information." Eliminating paper shuffling is certainly the right trend. However, in a period of fundamental economic reforms, it is equally necessary to have real warning, and, at the same time, mobilizing data of the state of our economy at our disposal at any given moment. From this point of view the Federal Statistical Office's report, with which we will acquaint readers gradually, is not at all a "tax" imposed on enterprises by the statistical body, but "partial repayment" by economic organizations to the whole of society, which has the right to know how enterprises are managing.

Honecker on Disarmament, Arms Asymmetries

LD210906 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 0800 GMT 21 Apr 88

[Text] Erich Honecker sees the renunciation of nuclear and conventional deterrent as the only responsible political path. In an interview published today in the Danish newspaper "JYLLANDS-POSTEN," the SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR Council of State chairman reaffirms the readiness to move from one zero-option to another zero-option in disarmament. Existing asymmetries in the conventional sphere should be eliminated by the side involved in the disarmament that has more. In the case of the Warsaw Pact, this applies to tanks; and in the case of NATO it applies, among other things, to tactical air strike forces. In general, it should primarily be dangerous conventional offensive weapons that are reduced.

Asked about developments in the socialist countries, Erich Honecker said it was important to learn from one another but not to copy one another. In this matter, all socialist countries have become wiser. No one has a remedy that is valid for all. The GDR has carried out extensive reorganization and reforms, and in so doing has, of course, learned a great deal from the experience of its friends.

Erich Honecker pointed out that in the GDR human rights were guaranteed in every respect. There were no unemployed or homeless people. The right to participate in decisionmaking was guaranteed, as was the right to freedom of information and worship—no one was persecuted in the GDR on account of his Christian faith. On the contrary, the Christian communities actually had the protection and support of the state.

Editions of 4 Church Papers Suppressed

LD201118 Hamburg DPA in German 0837 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—The latest editions of four Protestant Church papers have not appeared on the basis on state interference. Even the already printed "EVANGELISCHE NACHRICHTENDIENST" [Protestant News Service] (ENA) was not distributed last week.

The occasion for the measures taken by the state authorities was, according to information from church circles in East Berlin today, the reporting of the Berlin-Brandenburg Synod this month. The synod dealt with the emigration problem and developments since the searching of the Environmental Library at the end of November and the arrests in January in connection with the Liebknecht/Luxemburg demonstration on 17 January.

In talks lasting several hours with his representatives of the GDR Government Press Office, church circles were unable to obtain the release of Issues No 16 of "DIE KIRCHE" and "POTSDAMER KIRCHE," published by the Berlin-Brandenburg Church Executive. Also banned because of their reporting of the synod were last weekend's Thuringian church paper "GLAUBE UND HEIMAT" and the "MECKLENBURGISCHE KIRCHENZEITUNG." In the case of this latter paper, according to what has been said, a report previously printed in other church papers on a session of the Conference of Protestant Church Executives was the occasion for the action and reference was made to a "changed situation." [passage omitted]

Need To Draft More Reservists Discussed

LD191450 Hamburg DPA in German 1316 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—In order to be able to further fulfil its military tasks and demands within the Warsaw Pact, the GDR must draft an increased number of reservists into military service. The reason for this here, just as in the Federal Republic, lies in a heavy reduction in the age groups liable for military service. This emerges from comments by General Horst Stechbarth, deputy defense minister and chief of Ground Forces Command, in an article for the most recent edition of the GDR paper "VOLKSARMEE".

There are now whole units which consist mostly of reservists. Stechbarth asked the commanders to place "greater weight" on their personal affairs, as these soldiers are being called up in increasing numbers. Among these, the general mentioned family problems, beginning construction of a home, and qualifications in the factory.

Those liable for service in the military from the year 1970 have been examined recently for service in the national People's Army. The next call-up date is probably the end of this month.

Central Committee Message to Agriculture Society

AU201532 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Apr 88 p 3

[Message from the SED Central Committee signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker to the Seventh Congress of the GDR Society for Agricultural Sciences in Suhl: "Agriculture Becomes More and More a Branch of Applied Science"]

[Text] Esteemed delegates and guests, dear friends and comrades, the SED Central Committee conveys most cordial greetings to you, the delegates and guests of the Seventh Congress of the GDR Society for Agricultural Sciences.

Through their convincing political work as propagandists and organizers of scientific-technological progress in agriculture and forestry, the more than 80,000 members of the GDR Society for Agricultural Sciences are

making an important contribution to implementing the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress and of the 13th Peasants' Congress of the GDR.

Through exemplary initiatives, new ideas, and solutions, the GDR Society for Agricultural Sciences has enhanced the close and creative cooperation between scientists, agricultural, and forestry engineers, cooperative peasants, and workers in the interest of a dynamic performance growth in agriculture and forestry.

In this way it contributes to successfully implementing the SED's policy aimed at strengthening socialism and safeguarding peace for the well-being of the people.

The SED Central Committee conveys cordial thanks and pays respect to all members and functionaries of the GDR Society for Agricultural Sciences for their extensive social activities and the good results they achieved in this sphere.

Dear delegates and guests, the challenging demands that result from the economic strategy oriented toward the year 2000 for the continuation of the proven course of the unity of economic and social policy also set qualitatively new tasks for your society.

Above all, it is a question of establishing closer links between the mastery of the scientific-technological revolution and the advantages of socialism. Through their ideas and creative activities, the members and functionaries of the Society for Agricultural Sciences are making a decisive contribution to shaping agriculture into a branch of applied science. It is now a matter of bringing about a lasting comprehensive intensification in agriculture and forestry through the application of modern scientific-technological findings that yield a high economic benefit.

The Society for Agricultural Sciences should take measures to actively promote the accomplishment of top performances on the basis of the long-term research and development program for agriculture, forestry, and foodstuffs industry through the year 2000, and to enhance close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA member states.

Your work is of outstanding importance for the application of key technologies, particularly of microelectronics, information technology, and biotechnology, in order to achieve a production increase, an increase in productivity, as well as in efficiency and quality.

It should be an important concern of the enterprise groups and expert commissions of the GDR Society for Agricultural Sciences to establish an even closer link between science and production.

Based on their comprehensive experiences in providing advanced training for university and technical school cadres as well as for other working people, your society should increase efforts to create the required educational lead and to impart the latest applicable scientific-technological findings.

We draw your attention to the necessity to support the scientific-technological work of the youth, to promote the youth research collectives, and the importance of the tasks in the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow movement.

We are convinced that the members and functionaries of the GDR Society for Agricultural Sciences have the courage to tackle new problems, are ready to take risks and to assume challenging scientific-technological tasks from the plans for science and technology, and are able to achieve high yields and performances through great commitment and consistency. This is an effective contribution to preparing the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR in a dignified manner and to comprehensively fulfilling and overfulfilling the 1988 economic plan.

We wish your congress much success and all members and officials of the Society for Agricultural Sciences creative vigor and personal well-being.

With socialist greetings,

SED Central Committee

E. Honecker,

general secretary

Berlin, 15 April 1988.

The GDR Council of Ministers also sent a greetings message.

GDR, CSSR Envoys' Arms Ban Proposal to FRG

LD192019 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1724 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Bonn, 19 Apr (ADN)—On behalf of their governments, Ewald Moldt, head of the GDR's permanent mission to the FRG, and the CSSR ambassador to the FRG submitted a proposal to the FRG Government today at the start of official negotiations on freeing, or keeping free, the territories of the three states of chemical weapons. They explained the development of the offer of negotiation presented in May 1986, which was linked with this step, to Ambassador Dr Josef Holik, the Federal Government representative for questions of disarmament and arms control.

The GDR and CSSR representatives stressed that it would be a timely move to apply the treaty elements adopted at the Geneva disarmament conference for a global elimination of chemical weapons, including above all for control, in central Europe in advance.

In view of the present impasse in the work of the Geneva disarmament conference, a step of this nature could help overcome difficulties and bring closer a global ban, to which the FRG Government is also committed. This is, at the same time, a specific offer by the GDR and the CSSR to the FRG to work together so as not to allow a break in the disarmament process. Ambassador Holik agreed to pass on the proposal to the FRG Government.

Leuschner on Arms Reduction Talks in Vienna
DW191330 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1520 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Guenter Leuschner commentary]

[Excerpts] It is not only experts who have unpleasant memories of the disastrous effects of the so-called data discussion at the Vienna talks on force reduction in central Europe. What is meant by data discussion is the quarrel over the numbers both sides produced on the current strength of their troops. Whether or not the differences of opinion were real, or whether they were but a welcome pretext for one of the negotiating sides is an open question. In any case, it was an issue that through many years prevented any successful outcome of the negotiations. It is obvious that we may not allow the same problem to arise again in the talks on Europe-wide troops and arms reductions. The danger of that obstacle coming up has again abated somewhat, owing to the shift in priorities we have seen in the meantime. What has become more important than the present weapons stocks of either East or West is the potential both sides will be allowed to keep as a result of the negotiations. The existence of so-called asymmetries in various military fields is no longer denied and the principle that more weapons should mean more disarmament for either side is now being met with mutual acceptance.

Despite all that there is no way to escape an objective comparison of forces and the exchange of facts and figures it requires. And that is where the Warsaw Pact countries would like to see a less time-consuming procedure. [passage omitted]

We urge that all facts and figures for a comparison of forces be supplied at the very beginning of the talks and we have good reason to do so. The advantage of supplying official data in advance is that it could no longer be altered in the course of the negotiations. Such a procedure would render discussions more objective and would force the West to do without the highly unrealistic numbers that are, if anything, used to mislead the public.

A second advantage would be the chance for experts to compare their own estimates with the other side's data and even settle whatever problems may arise before negotiations actually start. We could thus spot existing asymmetries early and deal with the problem of their removal from the very outset of the negotiations. It would, in other words, be an enormous gain in time.

As the Vienna conference is behind schedule and possibly aggravates setting a date for a European disarmament conference, we might thus be in a position to compensate for some of the time that has been lost. The idea seems to be so reasonable that the NATO countries ought to be equally interested in a faster data exchange.

It is all the more surprising, therefore, that our appeal has gone unanswered. The idea was not exactly met with a great deal of enthusiasm on the part of the Americans, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze said after his meeting with Shultz. In Vienna, too, the West has so far failed to come forward with any response to our proposal. We are wondering what may be the reason for them to act so hesitatingly.

Sindermann Holds Athens Talks With Papandreou
LD181455 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1338 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] Athens, 18 Apr (ADN)—Horst Sindermann, president of the GDR People's Chamber and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, today met with Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou in Athens. Horst Sindermann conveyed cordial greetings from Erich Honecker, and at the same time gave him a personal message with an invitation to the 20-22 June Berlin international meeting on nuclear-weapons-free zones.

Prime Minister Papandreou expressed his gratitude for Erich Honecker's greetings, and paid tribute to his globally recognized personal work for the cause of peace. Prime Minister Papandreou accepted the invitation to the international meeting with great joy and satisfaction, and in so doing characterized the initiative on calling this meeting as an important and significant step which could effectively aid the creation of nuclear-weapons-free zones in Central Europe and in the Balkans.

People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann briefed his host on the latest initiatives by the GDR for creating a climate of trust and mutual respect, by which the process started by the agreement on the elimination of intermediate-range missiles can be further deepend and consolidated. The resolute support of Prime Minister Papandreou's government within the six-state initiative for peace and disarmament in the world, as well as its proposals on improving relations between the Balkan states, mainly by the idea of a nuclear and chemical-weapons-free Balkans, found the fullest support of the GDR Government and population.

Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou expressed his serious unease at the activities of forces who are attempting in the most varied ways to undermine the disarmament process. This requires greater cooperation and vigilance from governments, individuals, and nations.

In this spirit, he paid tribute to the state of relations between the GDR and Greece, who are undertaking a great variety of activities within the framework of their alliances and on an international scale in order to activate the disarmament process. The GDR and Greece, Prime Minister Papandreou stressed, have completely harmonious opinions on the basic questions of our time, and on questions of maintaining and securing peace.

Taking part in the talks, which were held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, were GDR Ambassador to Greece Horst Brie, as well as Rodhousakis, director of the Prime Minister's Diplomatic Office.

Axen Holds Talks With FRG Official

LD192049 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1622 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Berlin, 19 Apr (ADN)—Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Dr Peter Glotz, member of the SPD Presidium and editor-in-chief of the journal "NEUE GESELLSCHAFT/FRANKFURTER HEFTE," met in the SED Central Committee building today for an exchange of views. The talk took place in an open and constructive atmosphere.

The politicians welcomed the fact that after years of increasing confrontation and growing tension there are, with the signing of the treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range missiles, signs of a change for the better in international relations. They both reaffirmed the need for increased efforts by all those bearing political responsibility to continue dynamically through reason and realism the process of arms limitation and disarmament that has begun. Peter Glotz quoted as an important example of this the early withdrawal of Soviet shorter-range missiles from the territory of the GDR and the CSSR. This step should now be followed by suitable decisions by the West.

In the knowledge that security between East and West is only possible together, both German states must now work for the dynamic development of disarmament and detente. The two German states would best fulfil their duty to peace through their active work for an early ratification of the treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range missiles, for bringing about an accord on a 50-percent reduction in the strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and the United States with strict observance of the ABM Treaty, and for a ban on nuclear weapon tests and on chemical weapons. It is also part of this that progress in disarmament should not be devalued by a continuing arms race or by so-called compensatory arms measures.

Hermann Axen and Peter Glotz agreed in stressing that ways have to be found to reduce tactical nuclear weapons systems, which, to a particular degree, affect the GDR, the FRG, and the CSSR. In this connection the two politicians stressed the very recent proposal of the SED, the SPD, and the CPCZ for creating a nuclear weapon-free zone in Central Europe, the realization of which would also result in progress in conventional arms. They welcomed the convening of the International Congress for Nuclear Weapons-free Zones to be held in Berlin from 20 to 22 June 1988 and described this initiative as important to the global struggle for peace and disarmament.

The two politicians described the recent initiative of the SED, the SPD and the CPCZ of 5 April 1988 as an important step for freeing Europe from chemical weapons. The implementation of the proposals elaborated by them for establishing a chemical weapon-free zone in Europe, and with the inclusion of the elements agreed in Geneva for a global ban on chemical weapons, could make Europe the forerunner for global freedom from chemical weapons.

Hermann Axen stressed that political reality has proved the viability of coexistence and detente in Europe. The GDR is actively cooperating in the fashioning of a common European home. It is working, on the basis of the Helsinki Final Act and the Basic Treaty, for a continuation of the policy vis-a-vis the FRG that is directed toward the safeguarding of peace and businesslike cooperation, as was also expressed in the 8 September 1987 joint communique on Erich Honecker's official visit to the FRG.

During the talk numerous questions on the shaping of contacts between the GDR and the FRG Federal State of Bavaria were discussed.

Taking part in the talk were Gunter Rettner, candidate member of the SED Central Committee and Central Committee department director, and Hans Schumacher, senior editor of the "NEUE GESELLSCHAFT/FRANKFURTER HEFTE".

Foreign Ministry Spokesman on Israeli 'Terror'

LD201646 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1417 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Berlin, 20 Apr (ADN)—The dramatic worsening of the situation in the Israeli-occupied territories aroused particular concern and disquiet in the GDR. So GDR Foreign Ministry spokesman, Ambassador Wolfgang Meyer, told correspondents in Berlin Wednesday.

The huge escalation in the terror vis-a-vis the Palestinian population in the areas occupied by Israel vividly underlines the need for a political settlement of the Middle East conflict, and the PLO must play an equal role in this settlement.

This was also in line with the view of the overwhelming majority of the members of the UN Security Council, which condemned the Israeli terror at its recent session, on the situation in the occupied territories and demanded the earliest possible convening of a Middle East conference.

The participation of thousands of Palestinian citizens in the funeral and commemorative rallies for Khalil al-Wazir, whose brutal murder has also aroused deep revulsion and indignation in the GDR, impressively demonstrated the staunch will for resistance of the Palestinian people, the spokesman said.

They were continuing to fight, with unbroken tenacity and steadfastness, to end the Israeli occupation regime and for the implementation of their legitimate rights. In this, it can always rely on the GDR's active solidarity and support.

Ryzhkov Continues Activities, Departs

More on Factory Tour

LD191629 Budapest MTI in English 1507 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Budapest, April 19 (MTI)—As reported, the programme of Nikolay Ryzhkov continued in Hungary Tuesday with a factory visit. The member of the Political Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, who is currently on an official friendship visit to Hungary on the invitation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee and the Hungarian Government, visited the Budapest factory of the Tungsram Co. Ltd. Nikolay Ryzhkov and his party, including Deputy Prime Minister Aleksey Antonov, Nikolay Pugin, minister of automobile industry, Anatoliy Lukashov, deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee, and Boris Stukalin, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Hungary, were welcomed in the headquarters of the prestigious company by the Hungarian hosts, Prime Minister Karoly Grosz, Deputy Prime Minister Jozsef Marjai, minister of trade, Minister of Industry Frigyes Berecz, and Sandor Rajnai, Hungarian ambassador to the Soviet Union.

The production value of the 92-year-old company, which employs a staff of some 20,000, stood at some 11,000 million forints. Products bearing the Tungsram emblem—various light sources, semi-finished products, production installations—are well known and in demand in all parts of the world, both on the capitalist markets and in the socialist countries. Accordingly, the company shares a considerable proportion, some 5 per cent, from the world's light sources production. Tungsram's Russian-Soviet relations look back on a major past: The share corporation established relations with Russian industry in 1901. Close cooperation was set up after 1957, when the Hungarian company began the export of its production installations to the Soviet Union. On the basis of the 30-year cooperation, the overwhelming majority of Soviet lamps and fluorescent lamps are made on Tungsram production lines delivered in a value of some 700 million roubles.

In the interest of maintaining its position and further expanding it on the important Soviet market, Tungsram seeks new forms of cooperation. For instance, it organized joint planning offices with its Soviet partner companies in the past years, and a joint venture will shortly begin operation in Poltava.

Nikolay Ryzhkov asked numerous questions related to the organization of management: He asked company managers about the operation of Tungsram as a joint stock company, the supervisory role of the ministry, the prospect of developing Soviet relations. Answering the questions and observations, the hosts said the most important obstacle in the way of further intensifying cooperation is the lack of common convertible currency. In the current stage of developing our relations, what would most of all be necessary is for goods turnover to be followed by the flow of money, according to the Hungarian evaluation.

Following the visit to the company, the Soviet prime minister was familiarized with the activity of another economic organization. Although the small cooperative for precision technology cannot rival the light source producing company with respect to the number of employees and the total value of production, it is a worthy partner of Tungsram with respect to success and dynamic development, said managers in their briefing.

In 1981, the small cooperative for precision technology was set up as a private venture, and by today, with its annual production value of 1,500 million forints, shares 20-25 per cent of the domestic professional personal computer market. The firm, which adapts the most advanced technology in six months, is participating with its extremely modern installations in the space research programme of the Soviet Union. According to plans, one of the high-performance computers of the small cooperative will become operative aboard the Mir space station this year.

Ryzhokov Addresses Officials

LD201109 Budapest MTI in English 1036 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Budapest, April 20 (MTI)—Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov addressed the joint programme of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce and the Association of Scientific and Technical Organizations (MTESZ) Wednesday. He gave a brief report on the hitherto experiences of his visit to Hungary. He said that, in spite of the short time available, he held profound discussions with his Hungarian negotiating partners, and had an opportunity to acquire personal experiences on the activity of Hungarian industrial companies and agriculture. Naturally, direct solutions could not be reached in all issues on the agenda, but both sides have the common will and constructive approach to remedy the problems.

Reviewing the development of the socialist countries in the past four decades, the Soviet prime minister recalled that the members of the community have gone through considerable development, their economy has been raised to a qualitatively new level, they have created a considerable material-technical basis, have tremendous scientific potential, and major achievements were recorded also in the field of social-welfare care. At the same time he spoke in a critical tone about the fact that the dynamism in the development of the socialist world has decreased in the 1970s, economic automatisms have come into operation which have become obstacles to further development, and the economies have not been shifted to the intensive stage from extensive development.

Further developing the cooperation of the socialist countries demands that our contacts be furthered by fully taking the commodity-money relations into consideration. As long as direct goods exchange is not replaced by commerce, we cannot talk of a more intense integration, the Soviet prime minister stressed.

Discussions With Chamber of Commerce

LD201642 Budapest MTI in English 1241 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Budapest, April 20 (MTI)—As reported, Wednesday morning Soviet Prime Minister Nikloay Ryzhkov met leading representatives of Hungarian technical, economic and public life at the Budapest centre of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce. The Presidium of the conference included Prime Minister Karoly Grosz, Deputy Prime Minister Jozsef Marjai, minister of trade, and Aleksey Antonov, Soviet deputy prime minister.

Discussing timely issues related to the Hungarian-Soviet trade turnover, Tamas Beck, president of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce, pointed out that the readiness of Hungarian companies to increase exports to the Soviet Union is obstructed by the lack of appropriate return items. The problem with the formation of joint ventures is that for the time being there are no elaborate methods for foundation and cooperation. Problems include the settlement of accounts, the price issue and ensurance of smooth turnover. The Hungarian companies are expecting assistance in establishing direct contacts with Soviet industrial partners.

Tamas Beck proposed to give green light to department store exchanges and the as yet insufficient production cooperation projects. He urged that the prices also reflect the value of more up-to-date products of higher quality, and deemed it necessary to form Hungarian-Soviet joint ventures for trade promotion, marketing and the discovery of mutually important commodity funds. He took a stand for the radical updating of methods used in bilateral relations so that Hungary's economic links with the Soviet Union be more balanced, increasing and more up to date.

In connection with the scientific, technical and economic cooperation of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, Janos Toth, general secretary of the Federation of Technical and Natural Scientific associations, pointed out that without continued powerful development the organization will not be able to compete with the integration and vast potential of the Common Market.

On the experience from his visit to Hungary, Nikolay Ryzhkov said that he held an extensive exchange of views with his Hungarian negotiating partners. Although naturally no direct solution could be reached on every issue, the talks also showed the common will and constructive approach of both parties to find remedy to the problems.

Reviewing the past four decades of development in the socialist countries, the Soviet prime minister recalled that the members of the community have seen great development and created a sustantial material-technical basis. He spoke critically of the declining dynamics of the development of the socialist world in the 1970s, marked by economic mechanisms that became impediments to subsequent development and failure to switch over the economies from the extensive to the intensive phase of development. He saw the main reason for the slowdown in the delayed involvement of the socialist countries in the processes of the revolutionary transformation of tehcnical-scientific progress that started in the 1960s. They overestimated their own possibilities, and the socialist community was characterized by isolation. This process continued in the 1970s, when the socialist countries handled without adequate criticism issues such as their future energy and raw material supply.

A general characteristic is the low efficiency of social production, which is partly due to failure to have abolished egalitarianism on time. The dynamic development of the economy slowed down, with society affected particularly by the stop of the earlier rise in living standards.

The unfavourable tendencies prompt the socialist countries for renewal. The main basic principles of restructuring were laid down in the Soviet Union in 1985. At the same time, this process is not confined to the Soviet Union, as other countries of the socialist community are also looking for ways and means of renewal. This, however, does not lead to seclusion, it simply follows from the objective necessity that prevails everywhere. The aims pursued by Hungary since the 1968 introduction of the economic reform are well-known in the Soviet Union, Nikolay Ryzhkov added.

Nikolay Ryzhov pointed out that the inability of the countries of the community to unite their scientific potentials has become a hindrance to technical-scientific progress. They developed relations with the West one by one, and the resultant scattering of forces did not make it possible to act as equal partners towards the capitalist countries. At the same time, the Soviet prime minister took a stand for the links maintained with the advanced Western states. He stressed the need for the socialist countries to get involved in the world economic processes, as also required by technical-scientific progress. These ties, however, have to be developed on the basis of equal partnership, and the socialist countries should strive to come into a leading position in certain branches.

There is room for improvement in the integration of the members of the socialist community. The lack of a mechanism inducing companies to develop their partner relations poses a fundamental problem.

In this context the head of government referred to his visit to the Tungsram Co. Ltd., where company managers mentioned the practice of direct goods exchange and the lack of real trade as the main impediment to developing relations. Nikolay Ryzhkov pointed out that there can be no talk of deeper integration as long as there are no genuine commodity-money relations. Company contacts have become overly bureaucratic, which also made them turn to the West. The problems facing the whole of the socialist community call for the renewal of the system of relations, according to the demand of the age.

Among the socialist countries Hungary has the most experience in the field of international relations. For this reason, the view held in the Soviet Union is that it could increasingly participate in solving financial-settlement problems in the first place.

Outlining the trends and prospects of bilateral relations, Nikolay Ryzhkov stressed that, in connection with the world market price trends, the 1989-90 year will be the most difficult period in exchange relations. Reciprocal deliveries may show such a great difference which might endanger the maintenance of earlier ties. To avoid this, both the Soviet and Hungarian sides take a stand for maintaining the volume of goods exchange. Besides other solutions, the Soviet Union undertakes to increase its exports, e.g. machinery.

The Soviet head of government confirmed the Soviet Union's intention to supply the same quantity of oil and raw materials in the next plan cycle as in the present five-year period. He mentioned it as another major task for the coming years to accelerate the formation of joint companies and develop cooperation ties.

The setting up of joint companies with the Soviet Union shows slow progress. With Hungary, agreements on the formation of eight companies have been concluded, but only three have started production. The Soviet side considers that more could be done despite the existing problems, financial, settlement and other difficulties, said Nikolay Ryzhkov.

Meets Kadar, Grosz

LD201113 Budapest MTI in English 1041 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Budapest, April 20 (MTI)—Wednesday in the Central Committee headquarters, Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, met Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Political Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, who is currently in Hungary on the invitation of the HSWP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers.

At the cordial, comradely discussions the sides gave briefs on the preparations for the national conference of the HSWP and the party conference of the CPSU. They noted with satisfaction that there is full agreement between the HSWP and the CPSU in the evaluation of the major issues of building socialism, and the policy of the two parties shows ever increasing harmony. The HSWP and the CPSU, relying on the hitherto results of socialist building and on the common and national experiences, progress on the road of transformation, social renewal, and reforms. The better utilization of opportunities inherent in socialism is the demand of modern development in both countries, and this accords to the interests of the two peoples, the socialist community, and universal human progress.

The sides stressed that the regular meetings between the leaders of the HSWP and the CPSU successfully promote the solving of timely political and economic tasks. The meetings faithfully reflect the effort of the two parties for strengthening the open, sincere character of Hungarian-Soviet relations, for the reciprocally advantageous and balanced development of cooperation, and for the patient and persistent seeking of modern solutions and relation forms that are in harmony with the realistic opportunities.

The meeting was also attended by Karoly Grosz, member of the HSWP Political Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers. Also present were Sandor Rajnai, Hungarian ambassador to the Soviet Union, and Boris Stukalin, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Hungary.

Meets With Nemeth

LD201150 Budapest MTI in English 1057 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Budapest, April 20 (MTI)—Karoly Nemeth, president of the Presidential Council, Wednesday met Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov, in the Nandorfehervar Hall of parliament.

Also present at the cordial, friendly meeting were Sandor Rajnai, Hungarian ambassador to the Soviet Union, and Boris Stukalin, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Hungary.

More on Meeting With Nemeth

LD202048 Budapest MTI in English 1753 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Budapest, April 20 (MTI)—As reported, Karoly Nemeth, president of the Presidential Council met Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov in the parliament on Wednesday. At the meeting the president of the Presidential Council reviewed the domestic policy issues of Hungary, the contemporary issues of the development of the state administration, current affairs, and planned measures.

Nikolay Ryzhkov highly valued his visit, and gave details of the factual issues related to economic cooperation which were discussed at the negotiations. The

prime minister informed Karoly Nemeth on the changes to come in the principles and practices of the Soviet legislation and the expected amendments in the spirit of perestroyka.

At the cordial comradely meeting Karoly Nemeth and Nikolay Ryzhkov informed one another on the preparations of the coming conferences of the HSWP and CPSU and the related ideas on the further development of the systems of the political institutions.

At the meeting Sandor Rajnai, the ambassador of Hungary to Moscow and Boris Stukalin, the ambassador of the Soviet Union to Budapest, were also present.

Representatives Sign Accords

LD202248 Budapest MTI in English 2125 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Budapest, April 20 (MTI)—On Wednesday in Budapest, following the negotiations Hungarian-Soviet agreements were signed which serve the widening of the cooperation.

Jozsef Marjai and Aleksey Antonov on behalf of the two governments signed an agreement aimed at the development of the exchange of consumer goods by domestic distributor and cooperative corporations and organizations.

For the development of the assortment exchange and the establishment of direct links between the trading corporations the agreement envisages the development of the conventional assortment exchange relations, first of all, by the involvement of the corporations and commodity stocks of the Soviet republics. Further it becomes possible for the distributor corporations and cooperatives, under specified conditions, to settle independently the list, prices and volumes of their deliveries. It was agreed that besides the transferable rouble accounting it will be made possible for the participating corporations and cooperatives to effect the direct exchange of commodities without hard currency and bank clearing of the accounts.

Gyula Horn, state secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Anatoliy Kovalev, first deputy minister of foreign affairs signed a protocol on the promotion of the Hungarian and Soviet citizens' visa-free travel. The document contains simplifications of passport formalities and non-tourist travel. The agreement widens the consular authority in travelling by invitation.

Joint Communique on Visit

LD202045 Budapest MTI in English 1940 GMT 20 Apr 88

["Joint Communique on Nikolay Ryzhkov's Visit"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, April 20 (MTI)—Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU CC Political Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, paid an official friendship visit to the Hungarian People's Republic from April 18 to 20, 1988 at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic.

The Soviet prime minister met Janos Kadar, HSWP general secretary, and Karoly Nemeth, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, members of the HSWP CC Political Committee.

Nikolay Ryzhkov held talks with Karoly Grosz, member of the HSWP CC Political Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic. The talks were attended by Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of trade, Frigyes Berecz, minister of industry, Gyula Horn, state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Lajos Berenyi, deputy president of the National Planning Office, and Sandor Rajnai, ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic to the Soviet Union, on the Hungarian side, and A.K. Antonov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, N.A. Pugin, minister of the car industry, A.G. Kovaliov, first deputy foreign minister, A.I. Lukashov, deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee, and B.I. Stukalin, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Hungary, on the Soviet side.

Nikolay Ryzhkov visited the Budapest unit of the Tungsram Co., the Budapest-based small cooperative for precision technology, and the 'new life' cooperative farm of Sarisap, and met representatives of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce and the National Federation of Technical and Scientific Associations. He laid wreaths on the monument of Hungarian heroes, the monument of Soviet heroes, and the statue of Vladimir Ilich Lenin.

In cordial and friendly meetings and talks the sides briefed one another on preparations for the 19th All-Union Party Conference of the CPSU and for the National Party Conference of the HSWP. They exchanged views on major tasks in socialist construction work in their countries, the state of bilateral cooperation and the prospects of development, and topical international affairs.

Nikolay Ryzhkov gave a briefing on the revolutionary processes of great importance comprising all fields of the life of the Soviet society and the implementation of radical economic reform and wide-scale democratization in the current phase of perestroika, which is the decisive line of the activity of the CPSU and the Soviet Government.

Karoly Grosz spoke about topical domestic policy tasks, the measures serving economic stabilization and advance, and the tasks related to the modernization of the system of political institutions and the extension of democracy.

The sides emphasized that the processes of renewal unfolding in the Soviet Union and Hungary prove the vitality of socialism and constitute a response to the challenges of our age so that the creative force and new quality of socialism are fully asserted. Harmony between the aims of Soviet perestroika and the Hungarian reform process open up new vistas and possibilities for the many-sided, fruitful further development of bilateral cooperation, in keeping with the fundamental interests of the peoples of the two countries.

The sides noted with satisfaction that Hungarian-Soviet relations are showing an unbroken development and being enriched on the basis of equal rights, autonomy, mutual respect and confidence, consideration of one another's interests and experiences, and internationalist solidarity. The meetings and talks between Janos Kadar and Mikhail Gorbachev are playing an important role in deepening friendship and cooperation between their peoples and countries.

In the talks the parties paid primary attention to the implementation of the agreements reached in the meetings between the HSWP general secretary and the CPSU CC general secretary and the Hungarian and Soviet prime ministers in 1986 and 1987, and the survey of fundamental issues and concrete directions of Hungarian-Soviet economic cooperation. According to their evaluation, the implementation of agreements is going on well and the results of work palpably help solve the tasks faced by the national economies of the two countries.

The parties emphasized the increasing importance of Hungarian-Soviet economic, technical and scientific cooperation and expressed their intention to further develop it.

Taking the changing conditions of the world economy into account, the parties examined trading and payments relations between the two countries. They gave a favourable assessment to the agreement on goods deliveries and payments in 1988, and agreed to take further measures in the interest of a balanced exchange of goods and the fulfilment of payment targets. The sides commissioned the competent organs of the two countries to continue their efforts to develop trade turnover in a balanced way in 1989-1990, on the basis of results in 1988 and maintaining the achieved level of bilateral trade.

Discussing the prospects of economic cooperation, utmost importance was attached to the conception of economic, technical and scientific cooperation between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Soviet Union which is being elaborated for a period of 15 to 20 years. It was emphasized that the aims to be specified in the draft document should help further develop, and improve the mechanism of, cooperation between the two countries, improve the quality of production in keeping with the requirements of technical and scientific progress and the actual demands of the national economy, enhance the competitiveness of products in the world market, and increase economic efficiency and, on this basis, the welfare of the population. The parties agreed to complete the conception which they meant to serve as a basis for common work related to the coordination of the national economic plans of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Soviet Union for the period 1991-1995.

The sides reconfirmed their interest in the prolongation for the post-1990 period of the inter-governmental agreements on the production of alumina and aluminium, manufacture of plant protectives, and vegetable and fruit deliveries from the Hungarian People's Republic to the Soviet Union. The parties surveyed the implementation of some agreements of pivotal importance, for instance the extension of the Paks nuclear power plant, and the meeting of obligations by the two parties related to Hungarian participation in the Tengiz project.

The sides emphasized the importance of developing reciprocally beneficial cooperation on enterprise level. It was established that the new forms like direct links between enterprises, joint ventures and research projects constitute a fundamental trend towards a higher level of integration, and help expand exchange of goods between the two countries, accelerate technical and scientific development and provide for the conditions of improving the quality of products and increase the efficiency of production. The parties agreed on the joint elaboration of economic, organizational and legal rules serving the comprehensive development of cooperation. It was agreed that direct commercial, economic, technical and scientific cooperation would continue between Hungary and several Union Republics of the Soviet Union.

The parties shared the view that the advantages of socialist international division of labour should be used to a maximum extent. They took a stand for making a consistent advance towards transforming the CMEA'S cooperation mechanism and activity.

Stepped up efforts should be made to implement the complex programme of technical and scientific progress of the CMEA countries until 2000 so as to promote the deepening of socialist economic integration.

It was established that the global problems of our age, such as environmental protection and the reasonable utilization of natural resources, can only be tackled through international cooperation. The parties agreed to sign this year an inter-governmental agreement on cooperation in these fields.

The Soviet Union and Hungary are to promote the development of all forms of direct relations on the level of republics, counties and towns, expand and make more efficient the contacts between the workers' collectives of the two countries and border exchange, and continue to mutually simplify the order of individual travels by their

citizens. The parties gave a favourable assessment to the fruitful development of bilateral relations in the fields of science, education, culture and the teaching of the Hungarian and Russian languages.

In the course of a comprehensive discussion of international affairs, the sides gave an identical assessment to the European and world situation. They emphasized the importance of the new way of foreign policy thinking and expressed their preparedness to make every effort to strengthen the favourable processes that had started in international relations.

The sides emphasized the historic importance of the agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on the elimination of intermediate [passage indistinct].

The Soviet Union and Hungary attribute utmost importance to the implementation of the peace initiatives of the Warsaw Treaty, and welcome the constructive proposals of the Warsaw Treaty, and welcome the constructive proposals of other countries and political forces for the reduction of armaments, confidence-building, and the establishment of nuclear-free and chemical-weapon-free zones and zones of confidence, cooperation and good-neighbourly relations. The Soviet side reconfirmed its support for the joint proposal of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Finnish Social Democratic Party and the Italian Socialist Party for the active cooperation of non-nuclear states.

The sides highly appreciated the signing of documents aimed at settling the situation around Afghanistan which may give a stimulus to the settlement of other regional conflicts and crisis situations peacefully, through negotiations.

In the course of the visit the Governments of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics signed an agreement on the development of exchange of consumer goods between internal trade and cooperative companies and organizations, and a protocol amending the agreement of November 24, 1978 on the order of visa-free trips by the citizens of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Nikolay Ryzhkov's official friendship visit to Hungary has contributed to the strengthening of friendship between the Hungarian and Soviet peoples, and explored new opportunities for the further development of cooperation between the two countries in all fields of life.

Nikolay Ryzhkov invited Karoly Grosz for an official friendship visit. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

Closing Session With Grosz

LD202251 Budapest MTI in English 2132 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Budapest, April 20 (MTI)—Following the press conference in Budapest Wednesday afternoon, Karoly Grosz and Nikolay Ryzhkov—with the involvement of the accompanying parties—held a closing session.

The discussion of the premiers was complemented by partner negotiatings on Wednesday. Lajos Beremenyi, deputy chairman of the National Planning Office held negotiations with his Soviet counterpart, Anatoliy Lukashov, deputy chairman of the Planning Committee of the Soviet Union. In agreement with the tasks singled out at the premiers' meeting, they exchanged views on the organization of the implementation of the actions affecting the planning offices of the two countries. They discussed the topics related to the formation of the commodity trade for 1989-1990 and the start of the national economy plan coordination for the period 1991-1995. The preparations for the extension of production cooperation agreements beyond 1990 was also reviewed.

In the Wednesday separate programme of Ludmila Ryzhkova, she visited a factory and a museum. In the morning hours she visited the May 1 cloth factory and was accompanied by Mrs Marjai, the wife of the Hungarian deputy prime minister. At the factory Ferenc Bognar, general manager, introduced the situation and plans of the factory, which mainly employs a female workforce.

Following the spontaneous fashion show with the models of the workshops Ludmila Ryzhkova visited the Hungarian National Museum where she was guided by General Manager Istvan Fodor.

Ryzhkov Gives News Conference

LD201840 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Nikolay Ryzhkov left Budapest today. The Soviet head of government held a press briefing in the afternoon, together with Premier Karoly Grosz, on his talks in Budapest. Our correspondent Gabor Izbeki sums up what was said:

[Izbeki] Both Nikolay Ryzhkov and Karoly Grosz called the 3-day talks of the two heads of government extremely fruitful. The Soviet head of government also announced that in the next 5 years Hungary will receive from the Soviet Union the same amount of raw materials and energy it receives now. Karoly Grosz considered this an important result, since the stress that maintaining production in conditions of decreasing world market prices places on the Soviet Union is known in our country, too.

Karoly Grosz emphasized that the talks were free of all formalities, and it is important that our opinions on the reforms taking place in each other's countries, on the situation of the entire socialist community, and on world politics, are identical.

Nikolay Ryzhkov reiterated at the news conference what he had said on nearly all 3 days: As long as we do not work out new, modern methods of cooperation based on market principles, it will be difficult to develop and expand goods turnover. At present, for example, an agreement has been signed as a temporary solution, concerning the need to increase delivery of consumer items via simple goods exchange between the Soviet republics and department stores, as well as with the Hungarian partners. The Hungarian side wishes to reduce the extent to which its market research work is centered on Moscow; for this reason, Hungarian trade missions will open in Leningrad, Kiev, and Tbilisi.

Everyone asking questions at the news conference inquired about reform, utilizing one another's experiences, and CEMA. Nikolay Ryzhkov said the following in reply to the Budapest radio correspondent's question:

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] In your opinion, what is the reason for the main differences of interest within CEMA? To what extent is progress, that in the vanguard, hindered by the fact that some countries' systems of economic management and conceptions of reform differ?

[Ryzhkov, in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation] In my opinion, very important problems relating to principle await a solution in CEMA. I said in the economic chamber this morning that the organization's previous mechanism had completed its work, and it was effective only when it was established. For precisely this reason now, amid changed world economic conditions, there is a deep contradiction between reality and the CEMA mechanism. The issue at hand is primarily that we need a market, economic cooperation, and not simple exchange of goods.

How should we form a market here, amid the circumstances of a planned economy? There is, for example, the issue of prices. Hungary is already closer to the world market's producers' prices; the Soviet Union is still very far away. You are also correct in that the internal economic mechanisms also determine to a great extent what cooperation at the CEMA level is like. Most recent experience shows that the best instrument of cooperation is direct and free enterprise relations. It is important that as few mediators as possible should stand between enterprises because these mediators only hinder business relations. Otherwise, too, it is an illusion to suppose that in the Soviet Union, or some other country, one single center is able to control and fully direct every sphere of life, the work of economic roganization, and people's activity. [end recording]

[Izbeki] After this, Karoly Grosz replied to the question: To what extent has this visit contributed to the successful work of the party conference scheduled to take place next month?

[Begin Grosz recording] First of all, I would like to point out that the party conference is a matter for the Hungarian party. I could say that it is an internal matter. It is not the habit of premiers and government delegations to discuss questions relating to other parties' internal affairs. At the same time, I feel I am not abusing Comrade Ryzhkov's confidence when I say that the human sympathy that exists between the two of us also provides a special opportunity for such a conversation.

So this topic was not discussed at our negotiations, but it was raised in our comradely conversations. At the same time, I would like to express my conviction that the process of renewal taking place in the USSR has an extremely great spiritual influence on the forthcoming Hungarian party conference.

I would like to call your attention to another thing. Modernization of the economic management system began in Hungary in 1968. Examination of the graph showing the fluctuation of this reform process over the past 20 years provides an interesting illustration. There are peaks and low points.

There have also been several attempts in the USSR in past decades to modernize economic management. In my view, the significant difference between the two periods is that in the USSR today modernization of the economy and modernization of the political process are taking place simultaneously in reforming the economic management system and in the entire renewal process. This way, these two processes strengthen each other.

In 1968 we simplified matters: We only wanted to renew processes in the economic domain, and this contributes to the fact that several delays also characterize this path. We now want to make up for this. One of the tasks of the party conference is to join up, in conjunction with modernizing economic management, modernizing political leadership. To do this we will draw on the current experiences of the USSR. [end recording]

Grosz Interviewed on Talks With Ryzhkov

LD201842 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Interview with Hungarian Premier Karoly Grosz by correspondent Gabor Kapuvari at Ferihegy Airport on 20 April, following Soviet Premier Ryzhkov's press conference—recorded]

[Text] [Kapuvari] What was the reason for the extra, unscheduled discussion?

[Grosz] Well, I must start by saying that the plenary discussions turned out to be much longer than we had planned. The reason for this was that we took the debated questions one by one, very thoroughly and very comprehensively.

Premier Ryzhkov, by the way, has a very peculiar and to me very sympathetic negotiating style. He does not talk about questions in general terms, does not say that we will examine it in the future and have a look at it. He said there were a few questions on which we should conduct consultations and agree on the principles, but there were a few problems on which he was asking for an answer from the Hungarian comrades—yes or no—because he wanted to leave here knowing what our position was on this.

We must recognize that there is massive interest in the USSR around the world. He said during the conversation that quite recently—and the Hungarian press also reported this—more than 500 U.S. businessmen had turned up in their country, and the overwhelming majority of these had suggested cooperation schemes.

Now, if we reject or decline to participate in a program, they will look for other solutions. I consider this correct and [words indistinct]. For this reason we were unable to answer two concrete questions at the plenary sessions. [Kapuvari] Could you tell us which questions these were?

[Grosz] Of course. One was our participation in the car manufacturing program. This concept has been maturing for quite a while. Originally, the plan was that all three countries participating—the USSR, Bulgaria, and Hungary—would have an assembly plant with a capacity of 50,000 vehicles. Economic calculations showed that it was unwise to start with all this, to erect buildings and develop the infrastructure because prices had skyrocketed. So it was a Hungarian idea, which the Soviets accepted, that it should be built on one site where the infrastructure is, in a sense, in place because this way the starting costs are smaller and production can be started more quickly.

Now, our Soviet friends have asked us to participate in the construction of the plant. We said that we were unable to participate in the construction, not because we had no building industry capacity—although we do not have that, either—but primarily because in the USSR the cost of construction was calculated on different prices and nothing good would come out of this from our point of view. This is one of the lessons of Tengiz. For this reason we asked them to abandon the idea. In the provision of machinery it is, of course, in our interest to participate because it would represent machine industry exports, of which we have a very great need.

So one theme was this car business. The other theme was part of a chemical industry program, the manufacture of a basic material for our crop protection agents. The debate has been going on for a long time, for many months, almost. It is quite true that the calculations do not add up. We could not come to an agreement on this occasion, either, but we took cognizance of the report that within 2 months the experts are to formulate a proposal, following further calculations. Then we will see what to do next.

Leaves; Seen Off by Grosz

LD201636 Budapest MTI in English 1558 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Budapest, April 20 (MTI)—Closing his official, friendly visit Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Political Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union's Central Committee and president of the Ministerial Council of the Soviet Union left Hungary on Wednesday afternoon. The Soviet premier—who was accompanied by his wife on their visit to Hungary—met the invitation of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Council of Ministers.

The high ranking Soviet guest was seen off by Karoly Grosz, member of the HSWP's Political Committee and president of the Council of Ministers at the Ferihegy Airport which was decorated with Hungarian and Soviet flags. Several members of the Hungarian Government were also present at the farewell.

TRYBUNA LUDU Criticizes USIA's Wick

AU201248 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Apr 88 p 5

[Commentary by Wlodzimierz Lozinski: "Between the War of Falsifications and the Flow of True Information"]

[Text] In Washington Charles Wick, director of the United States Information Agency, who recently visited Poland, is considered a man who is fascinated by the use of information technology in the service of so-called public diplomacy or, to put it more simply, propaganda. Reality confirms this opinion to a significant extent. During his 7 years as director of the government information agency, Charles Wick has developed a network of radio stations, increased Voice of America programs, created new radio stations and propaganda publications that are sent abroad, and, above all, set up the so-called Worldnet in 1983, that is, a world television network that broadcasts pro-government programs with the help of satellite stations.

Wick's personality and active political involvement compel one to consider everything, apart from his beloved modern communications technology, that defines his philosophy and practical activity as principal ideologist of America's current ruling team. As Wick is talkative and often speaks publicly, it is not difficult to find out his views about the aims and functions of the mass media. Besides, he himself saw to the popularization of his thoughts by sending some editorial boards, through the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw, a pamphlet containing speeches that he had made before coming to Poland.

I have allowed myself to choose a speech made on 22 January 1988 to groups of college economists in the sunny town of Tucson (Arizona) from among the many interesting statements that he has made. Why did I choose this speech? First, because in view of the audience, it contains a large dose of intellectual ideas and second, because Wick links the theory of propaganda to current political events. In addition, I was fascinated by the title of the speech: "Global Interdependence and the Ideological War." I agree with "interdependence" but why is it meant to develop, continue, and be deepened in a "war" and not, for example, in a substantive and constructive exchange of views, in the creative flow of ideas that enriches the individual, peoples, and states?

Wick does not devote any attention to this contradiction, although the incongruity of "interdependence" and "war" appears in the first sentences of the speech. Wick states, for example, in a rather literary way: "More than ever before we are moving toward an era in which the inhabitants of the global village, human individuals full of creative energy will be competing with one another above national borders in the international arena. This interaction, which is possible thanks to satellites, television, personal computers, and other forms of modern technology, will shape the substance of the global community."

Formulated in this way, this thought about the future does not arouse any objections. However, it clashes with the word "war" contained in the title and other statements contained in the speech. Wick does, after all, prompt the question whether "competition in the world arena," or this "shaping of the substance of the global community" must take place in a war. Unfortunately, according to Wick it must, because he assumes his own personal and one-sided victory a priori and not, for example, the success of objective truth. It is to be achieved "thanks to the power of free and open competition in the world ideological market." And this power is represented by the United States along with Wick's beloved communications technology.

His fascination with technology in the service of propaganda is recalled by the fact that, for example, "the four main firms supplying economic data cover 100,000 agencies, and link more than 110 stock markets and 300,000 computer stations in 110 countries." This fascination with technology does not, however, limit Wick's thinking on the sphere of information itself and its optimal use in politics and economics. The head of American propaganda is excited about the possibility of using technology for the "fiercest competition," for the "struggle for people's hearts and minds—this centuries-old aspect of world history."

If one accepts the valid principle that the purpose of communicating information is to shape people's views and behavior, then Wick's statements can be deemed correct, although the emphasis on "struggle" contrasts with other, positive outpourings on present-day, primarily Soviet subjects. Wick does, after all, acknowledge that "Soviet foreign policy has, to a large extent, adapted to... historic changes," and later, "when Mikhail Gorbachev assumed power, the Soviet Union began to promote a new image of openness to the world, an openness designed to make the USSR more attractive in the eyes of the West."

Wick is scared of this change. He considers it an "ideological war" and foresees a "huge strategic success" which he would like to prevent at all costs. And this is where his objective view of the role of propaganda, or "public diplomacy" as he calls it, ends and disinformation begins, which Wick correctly defines as "deliberate untruth" and "a part of an organized campaign," which he attributes not to himself, but to others. For him, the Soviet restructuring and "new way of thinking" are disinformation or propaganda designed to "win popularity," not a profound process of transformations with a positive effect on international relations.

For example, he says that "the Soviet disinformation campaign blocked Carter's decision concerning NATO's deployment of neutron weapons in Europe." This is an exceptionally distasteful recollection of an exceptionally sinister episode at the beginning of the seventies, when the idea of deploying neutron weapons which kill people but leave property undamaged was the subject of a lively debate. I happened to be TRYBUNA LUDU's U.S. correspondent at the time. I remember many American and European, including Soviet, intellectuals, politicians, and ordinary people criticizing this inhumanitarian idea of perfecting mass destruction weapons, the pretext for which was provided by disinformation whereby these weapons destroy nothing created by man. It was disinformation to say that only enemy personnel would be destroyed. Real information, shaping proper social attitudes, was provided by the above criticism which "blocked the deployment of neutron weapons." So Wick is perpetrating renewed disinformation 10 years after the victory of a just cause which paved the way to arms reductions.

Wick is also disinforming his audience today when he quotes three modern examples of alleged "disinformation" by the Russians, aimed at "creating a divide between the United States on the one hand and its allies and other countries all over the world on the other," "inciting anti-American moods which would reduce the United States' ability to maintain military bases abroad," and "undermining political support for exceptionally important foreign research work connected with the presidential SDI."

"Mr Wick," one would like to ask, "do you not think that American globalism, the American doctrine of intervention in selected places considered by the administration to be strategically important, and the very doctrine of 'Star Wars' are themselves making numerous states and peoples sufficiently afraid of the United States? Is it necessary to add any Soviet or other disinformation to these fears? You contradict yourself by saying in the very same Tucson speech that the new Soviet 'glasnost' is dangerous to the United States because 'it is designed to strengthen socialism.'"

The arbitrary nature of Wick's definition of disinformation is also revealed in the work of Radio Free Europe, which is supervised by the U.S. Congress. We noticed this again on 24 March this year, when a statement by Lech Walesa supposedly containing the following sentence was broadcast: "Because we cannot deprive them (?) of their authority, we have to demolish it some other way."

However, in a later broadcast by the same station on the same day, the above sentence underwent the following transformation: "Because we cannot deprive them of their authority, we have to settle this authority."

So we do not know what Walesa really said and what was put in his mouth for the sake of disinformation or for the sake of the needs of RFE's propaganda employees.

Other examples of disinformation are recent RFE and "Voice of America" commentaries which blame the Soviet openness and restructuring for the nationalist conflicts in the Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast.

We can expect more from Wick if his scientific dreams come to pass. He says: "In the future, there will be a fully-developed global USIA television network, whose programs will reach the farthest corners of the earth. It will be the most powerful instrument of propaganda ever possessed by any country"—the United States of course. On behalf of the United States, Wick would like to wage his own kind of propaganda war, called "public diplomacy" and favoring disinformation.

Just a war? The expression "war games" has been in the American political dictionary ever since the publication of Zbigniew Brzezinski's book of that name. Wick also concludes his speech by comparing an ideological confrontation to a "field," or, even better, a "game," in which our planet's future may well depend on who is more adept at playing it.

Therefore, Wick is fascinated by the very game itself, in which a network of satellites, generosity, and skill with dollars rather than truth, honesty, and tolerance of other convictions and values are to bring him success. What a pity. We can see that the USIA director has still not digested the principles of the "historic changes" he has noticed in Soviet politics. However, let us not lose hope. Let us be faithful to the principle that time and experience are the life's best teachers.

Polish-Soviet History Panel Head Interviewed

PM201541 Warsaw PERSPEKTYWY in Polish 25 Mar 88 pp 4-5

[Interview with Prof Jarema Maciszewski, rector of the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences, joint chairman of the commission of Polish and Soviet historians, by PERSPEKTYWY correspondent Agnieszka Jarzebowska; date and place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] A lot of justifiable interest has been aroused by an announcement, carried in the declaration signed less than a year ago by Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mikhail Gorbachev, which promised that the so-called blank spots in the history of Polish-Soviet neighbourly relations will be filled in. The progress of the sessions of the joint commission of academics of both countries has been much discussed and commented upon. We will have to wait a bit longer for a formulation of their definitive findings. We asked Prof Jarema Maciszewski, rector of the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences and joint chairman of the commission of Polish and Soviet historians, to tell us what has been achieved to date.

[Jarzebowska] Professor, you are not too keen to give interviews on the work of the commission. Why is it so?

[Maciszewski] That is true. It is because it is difficult to offer people anything concrete, to give them the unequivocal statements of fact that they are after, when the work of our commission is still in progress. And we do not want to be rushed or to work under pressure. After all, we are not after sensational, front-page headlines; what we want is a dispassionate clarification of the whole truth about the difficult questions from our common past. And there is a great number of things awaiting clarification and investigation.

[Jarzebowska] Our common past, which goes back more than a thousand years, flas had many stretches of dozens and hundreds of years of conflict. As a result, our national consciousness, as well as that of the Soviet people, is burdened by the buried memory of our past discord. This burden can only be removed if we bring into the open the history of our past relations in an honest and accurate presentation. And that is the purpose of the work being done by the Polish-Soviet commission. How do you propose to attain your aim?

[Maciszewski] We wish to explain the whole truth about our past, even at its most painful. Experience teaches us that clarification of all the difficult moments from the past contributes greatly to making that past a closed account and thus preventing it from interfering with the present and the future. To this end we have undertaken the mammoth task of unveiling, elucidating, and reinterpreting all aspects of our common past, allowing for absolutely no exceptions. This, however, does not mean that we restrict our scope solely to episodes of conflict and tragedy. The roots of our present friendship go deep, and some of the fine aspects of our shared past still remain "blanks," too. We encourage research into certain specified areas and we want to combine that research with a comprehensive investigation of the existing archives. This is because it is difficult to speak of a final synthesis which would fully comply with all scientific requirements without having first carried out all relevant analyses, without applying meticulous precision in examining each question, or without sound investigation of sources. We even regard the introduction of new sources into the existing bank of academic data as one of the fundamental objectives of our commission.

One of the necessary preconditions of success in our work is that we approach the entire subject as an integrated whole, since any other, selective approach leads only to falsification, concealment of fact, and misinterpretation. I must admit that when we were originally working out the method of approaching the whole broad scope of questions within our brief, it was not so easy to decide even on the basic list of questions to work on. Should we start with the 17th century, when Poles arrived in Moscow as unwelcomed guests, or with the 18th century, when Russians came to Warsaw in the same guise, and, after 1814, stayed there for a long time? But if we considered these problems in chronological order, we would surely be charged with doing it on purpose to defer and obscure the truth about the most recent history, which is in many aspects a painful and difficult truth. In time, we will return to the old issues, because some of them also require a more thorough examination.

[Jarzebowska] Professor, as joint chairman, you head an undertaking which is the first of its kind for our historians. Therefore, members of the commission carry the burden of a tremendous responsibility and also, I think, they are conscious of the awakened hopes that certain previous judgments will become reevaluated and—which is more—certain individual experiences will be validated.

[Maciszewski] A sense of carrying a tremendous responsibility accompanies us in our work. That is why, among other things, I am in no hurry to give interviews. But I do not intend to speak in Aesopian language either. Hence my pleas for time and some patience. For example, the commission will not be able to examine and resolve all the problems concerning individual, personal histories, although they may serve as an illustration of a broader phenomenon, such as, for instance, violation of the law, or repressions. But there is no doubt that some light will be shed on many of those histories. Several years ago the question of the tragic fate of T. Dolega-Mostowicz was finally cleared up: He was shot by a Soviet soldier near the Romanian border. Later, that soldier was executed by a firing squad by the sentence of a Soviet court. But we are not concerned with individual cases: We are concerned with general phenomena. We are concerned with those aspects of recent history which were responsible for creating resentment on both sides of the border. In the main, however, we are chiefly concerned with removing all things that could divide us rather than with reopening old wounds and stirring up old emotions.

[Jarzebowska] Let us return to a question of paramount importance for a historian: that of source materials. Did you find that the frequency with which individual documents discovered in Soviet archives were being turned over to the Polish side intensified after the commission started its work?

[Maciszewski] The amount of source materials available to us has increased very considerably. And that is the initial result of our joint work. To date, we have received more than 100,000 microfilm frames, mostly concerning the history of the Polish workers movement. These are, among others, the last extant materials from the PPS [Polish Socialist Party] London archives and SDKPiL [Social Democratic Paraarty of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania]. Two documents especially, to which we had no access in the past, are of paramount importance to us: the August 1938 resolution of the Comintern Executive Committee on the dissolution of the KPP

[Communist Party of Poland] and the May 1939 resolution of the same committee on the initiation of operations aimed at restitution of the KPP. The latter document explodes the myth that the dissolution of the KPP had anything to do with the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact of 23 August 1939. These documents are at present the subject of a scholarly study. Before they are published in extenso in a scholarly edition, their content will be analyzed in monograph studies now in preparation. This, however, is only the first step.

[Jarzebowska] When will further steps be taken?

[Maciszewski] This question should be directed at the Soviet historians, not at me. Opening up the archives is a gradual process. Every country has its own rules concerning archive materials and its own qualifying periods for the disclosure of different categories of source materials concerning recent history. Both Poland and the Soviet Union have these too. But it is clear that we will not rid ourselves of subjectivity in our appraisal of facts and events until we are able to confront them with the fullest possible collection of source materials of wide origin. The commission has already prepared its recommendations for the archive services of both our countries.

[Jarzebowska] Information about the results of your recent meeting was published in TRYBUNA LUDU, and your Sejm address on the matter has also received wide publicity. The commission has accomplished much. Among other things, it announced its intention to publish F. Firsov's paper on relations between the Comintern, the All-union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) [VKP(B)], and the Polish workers movement. We are interested in the second subject, one which was not mentioned as intended for future publication: materials prepared by V. Parsadanova and concerning the deportations and the fortunes of the Polish population in the eastern borderland of the former Polish Republic in the years 1939-1941.

[Maciszewski] The term resettlement is more precise in this case, although its application caused an immediate avalanche of accusations against both myself and the commission, claiming that we were intent on "toning down" the nature of those deportations, extraditions, and so on. Well, the word "resettlement" or "relocation" contains more meanings, and it covers, apart from the deportations and extraditions, several other currents of the relocation of Polish population to the interior territories of the Soviet Union. Our public knows a lot about this phenomenon, but that knowledge is far too fragmentary, based on oral reports, published memoirs, and Western studies. We wish to approach the subject in a serious and thorough manner, without insinuation or deliberate omission. Today we are talking loud and clear about infringements of the law, about the dramatic fate of many thousands of our compatriots. These matters have not been investigated before in the Soviet Union. Parsadanova's paper is just a first step into this area. We investigate these matters together. We are interested not only in the extent of the deportations but in the conditions in which they took place—conditions which were often atrocious and took their toll. But, let me repeat, these materials constitute only our point of departure and require a further search of source materials. Of course, we do perceive a certain discrepancy between our expectations and our chances of success at this stage of our research. All the same, we wish to expose all these problems in a scientific manner. And that is also difficult because certain elements wish to play on the accompanying emotions for the sake of propaganda or sensationalism. It is too early to provide actual figures if these figures are to be credible and scientifically verified.

[Jarzebowska] But figures are already being quoted. Over the past 6 months our own papers have made several attempts to define the extent of the phenomenon in question: PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY wrote about a million deportees, ZYCIE WARSZAWY would not exclude the possibility of a higher number, and KONFRONTACJE spoke of 700,000 people deported into remote areas of the Soviet Union, conscripted into the Red Army, or evacuated.

[Maciszewski] It is precisely because different figures are quoted in different contexts that we need to get them all fully verified. The discrepancies only confirm that it is difficult to talk about a totally objective picture of the phenomenon. From the viewpoint of our methodology we have managed to do something very important: a systematic classification of the main currents of deportations. Thus, the first group was made up of the interned enlisted men, noncommissioned officers, and officers of the Polish Forces. Later, their destinies diverged. Most of the enlisted men and a large proportion of the noncommissioned officers were eventually released (later, they found themselves in Anders' army or the First Army of the Polish Forces), the majority of the officers were placed in the camps at Kozelsk, Starobelsk, and Ostashkov (the latter incorporating also noncommissioned officers of the Borderland Defense Corps [KOP], police officers, and so on). Of those, as we know, only a group of more than 400 officers was subsequently found, having been transferred to the camp at Gryazovets. A full disclosure of the fate of all the others, an exposure of all the circumstances of the Katyn massacre is one of the more exacting tasks of the commission. An intensive search for source materials is under way. That particular atrocity must be investigated with exceptional thoroughness.

The second group comprises the already mentioned deportees. Several successive waves of deportations took place at the time, and they varied from region to region. They included people involved in the apparatus of power, politicians, army settlers, forestry officers, landowners, and estate managers, but also teachers, cultural activists, and even ordinary peasants. Here it is important to distinguish between the group which became resettled beyond the Urals and in the Central Asian

republics without being deprived of their freedom (although, in principle, they were forbidden to leave) and those who were directed to the camps directly after their release from prison. Let us add that the deportations involved other nationalities beside the Poles. The third group of migrants comprised people who moved to areas in the Soviet Union (the Donbass, for example) to find work and not in connection with repressions. In its turn, the large stream of evacuations in the period immediately before the war and in the first weeks of Hitler's attack on the USSR was of a very different nature. The people involved were simply fleeing to save their lives. Evacuation of prisoners was an entirely different matter again. The fifth group was made up of people who were enrolled into service in the Red Army. Some of them were to suffer a bitter disappointment: Instead of going to the front to fight, they were directed to serve in construction battalions. Finally, the last group which must be mentioned is that of the so-called bezhentsy, that is, refugees from western and central Poland and from the areas occupied by the German forces. Most of these were also deported eastward.

Again, let me point out that these facts constitute a mere framework. We are making every effort to fill in that framework and to uncover the actual fates of the people who were resettled, but at the same time we must do justice to the Soviet people who lived in the same, often very difficult circumstances, and who nevertheless wholeheartedly received the Poles. We also note the shift in the attitude toward the Polish population in the second half of 1940, when the circumstances in which Polish people lived in the USSR and the Belorussian SSR underwent a partial change and when the attitude toward Polish culture altered too. Among other things this found an expression in the Mickiewicz festival celebrations in Lvov.

[Jarzebowska] Apart from the fact that the main directions of your work have been mapped out, can we talk about any progress made in some of these directions after just two sessions of your commission?

[Maciszewski] We have made definite progress in some areas and none in others. We have moved forward a great deal in the preparation of a scientific study—to be published on the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the war—which will synthesize and enhance our knowledge of the events, and their determinants, leading up to the outbreak of World War II and during its first months. This will include, among other things, a more detailed study of the whole complexity of issues concerning the entry of the Red Army into the eastern territories of the then Polish state. Apart from the question of relocations and deportations, we have moved forward considerably in researching the whole area of difficult issues concerning the dissolution of the KPP and the subsequent fortunes of its leaders as well as many of its activists. Many of our findings have already become public knowledge. Many fundamental opinions had to be altered or formulated with greater precision. Academician G. Smirnov, chairman of the Soviet side of the commission, has stated publicly—both in print and on Polish television—that the war begun 1 September 1939 was from the very beginning a just war as far as the Polish side was concerned, and that the speech delivered by V. Molotov at the 31 October 1939 session of the USSR Supreme Soviet was in its nature not only inadmissible but also insulting to the Polish nation. It was also clearly and unequivocally stated that Molotov's formulated assertion that the Polish state had ceased to exist was untrue as well as detrimental and insulting to the Polish. Here, incidentally, I should like to comment on the charge leveled at us by the "Kultura" center in Paris, which accuses us of softening the tone of Molotov's address on the Polish questions. This is a case of a purely linguistic dispute which can be reduced to the evaluation of the accuracy of the Polish translation of the phrase "urodlivoye detishche versalskogo dogovora" ["deformed offspring of the Treaty of Versailles"]. In my opinion, all this speculation on the question of the softening of the tone of the expression in question constitutes a classical example of the level of their quarrel with us. The crucial point here is not whether that disgraceful phrase is best translated as "bastard" or "aborted fetus," or rendered in yet another way. The crucial point is that methods of this kind are being used in an attempt to undermine the integrity of our work.

But let me get back to where we were before this digression. We have made a big step forward in examining our mutual relations in the years 1917-1921 and the armed cooperation between our nations during World War II (and how much ignorance there still is about this subject!). We are also going to study the whole block of questions connected with the problem of the Home Army [AK]. Besides, another subject under critical analysis is the question of the Polish population's contribution to the work done behind the front lines and the assistance offered by Polish people to Soviet prisoners of war and to the Soviet intelligence service in German-occupied Poland and in the German Reich itself. Our Soviet comrades have made certain requests in this matter, wishing to honor the memory of the million or so Soviet prisoners of war murdered by the Nazis on our land, and at the same time to highlight the assistance extended to escaped prisoners of war by Polish people, their participation in the guerrilla war fought by Polish partisan formations, and so on.

[Jarzebowska] What about the Warsaw uprising?

[Maciszewski] We have progressed relatively far in the elucidation of questions connected with this problem. Polish studies concerning the uprising—and we have quite a lot—need to be complemented by Soviet sources. Investigations are currently under way. However, they must be comprehensively conducted. If, for example, it is pertinent to our research to ask the question why Western aircraft carrying aid for the insurgent Warsaw did not obtain permission to land at Soviet airfields until September 1944, it would be equally pertinent to find

out why the British and the Americans did not officially recognize the insurgents as belligerents until the end of August, that is, after a month of fighting in Warsaw. Our studies, which are based exclusively on much-depleted Polish, or German sources, are inevitably incomplete.

[Jarzebowska] Are the questions studied in the course of your sessions limited again to global, Polish-Soviet relations, or do you also consider Polish-Ukrainian, Polish-Belorussian, and Polish-Lithuanian relations?

[Maciszewski] We are keeping all those bilateral relations within sight, too, but we will consider them more closely only after we have moved on from the questions concerning the most recent history of Polish-Soviet relations to more detailed matters. Then we will need a more intensive cooperation between our scientists and the major history institutes in the western Soviet republics.

[Jarzebowska] It is indeed a mammoth task. The difficulties which accompany it and the need for painstaking investigations have also inspired certain critical remarks, some of which have been leveled at your commission at the sessions of the Consultative Council. In turn, certain people who are unable to fault the work of the commission as such have been putting forward the argument that as a result of its prolonged work a new historical truth will now be declared as an obligatory and generally approved creed...

[Maciszewski] A sense of impatience is already becoming apparent at the sessions of our commission, caused by the fact that a lot of our time is spent in an exchange of views on various historical subjects. We have also had comments on the allegedly incomplete composition of the commission, but those who charge us with having put politicians instead of historians in its ranks are themselves in fact politicians, albeit of a "slightly different" or altogether different orientation. Moreover, there are several other joint commissions of historians with very many members who have no party affiliation. The party nature of our commission, which was, after all, created on the strength of an agreement between our two respective party leaders, does not mean that no difference of opinion arises during our debates. Free debate, which is often polemical in nature but always conducted on the basis of mutual respect and friendship, guarantees us a multifaceted view of the matters we are concerned with. I believe that there is only one, indivisible historical truth. No one holds a monopoly on it, least of all those who try to discredit the results of our work even before it is completed. This is because our brief is not to formulate and proclaim any new truths which should then become the "received creed" but to carry out a scientific analysis of certain definite phenomena belonging to historical reality, to formulate—by applying the tool of synthesis—our considered judgment of them, and also, or perhaps above all else, to define the areas of research, encourage a methodical search of the archives and of materials that constititue concrete evidence, to introduce new source materials for scientific study, initiate publishing work on monograph and other studies concerning the area under research, an so on. All historical studies, including the results of the work of our commission, must be subject to scientific criticism. This is because, just as many other scientific disciplines, history cannot ever capture the absolute truth. All it can do is approach as near as possible to it. Constructive critical commentary referring to our syntheses is to be regarded as promoting scientific progress—provided, of course, that it is of a truly scientific nature and is neither in the service of propaganda or based on preconceived notions.

[Jarzebowska] Everything indicates that the opportunities for cooperation between scientists of our two countries, created by last year's Moscow Declaration, are being exploited to a considerable extent. When, in view of this, can we expect the commission to complete its work?

[Maciszewski] The changes in the field of historical study brought about by the Declaration and affecting equally the area of research and publication are well documented by the content of both our own and Soviet periodicals. Virtually all restrictions affecting subject matter are gone. And as regards the work of the commission, we are interested in completing it as quickly as possible, and we are well aware of the need to complete it quickly. However, it will be necessary to wait a bit longer for the results of our work. As soon as it begins to look as if we have finally resolved a problem, a great number of new circumstances suddenly come to light. Neither do we want to substitute half-truths, or shallow interpretations, for the previous areas of ignorance, conceaiment, or untruth. We also need time if we are to find certain types of source materials. But we are doing everything we can to expedite matters. By adopting the principle that members of our commission will meet regularly in working groups without waiting for plenary meetings, we have intensified the pace of our operations. We will make every effort to bring forward the moment when it will be possible to make our findings fully available to the public.

[Jarzebowska] We will wait for that moment. Thank you for talking to me.

PAP Cites TASS Interview With Czyrek

LD192119 Warsaw PAP in English 2048 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow, April 19—The TASS agency published an interview with PUWP CC secretary and Political Bureau member Jozef Czyrek, in which he said that one of the basic goals of the Jaruzelski-Gorbachev declaration on cooperation in ideology, science and culture was "to strengthen, in the consciousness of Poles and the Soviet nations, the historic truth about the significance

of our fraternal alliance and cooperation and to transform this consciousness into an active element of rapprochement between societies, young people, the working class and intelligentsia."

The document is an expression of the convergence of the process of socialist renewal in Poland and the Soviet perestroyka, the common striving by both parties and countries to raise Polish-Soviet relations to a new, qualitatively different level, meant to encompass the widest masses of Polish and Soviet societies, Czyrek said.

Economic Cooperation With Bulgaria Discussed

AU201318 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16-17 Apr 88 p 2

[Text] PAP—On 15 April, Zbigniew Messner, PZPR Politburo member and premier, received Andrey Lukanov, BCP Politburo candidate member and minister of foreign economic relations, and discussed with him bilateral cooperation and mutual relations in the presence of Wladyslaw Gwiazda, minister of foreign economic cooperation. Wieslaw Bek, Polish ambassador in Bulgaria, and Ivan Gruyev, Bulgarian ambassador in Poland, were in attendance.

The 2-day 24th session of of the Polish-Bulgarian Commission for Economic Cooperation ended in Warsaw on 15 April. The basic document relating to this cooperation is the "Long-Term Program for Polish-Bulgarian Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation." Last year work was started on the lines Polish-Bulgarian cooperation up to the year 2005.

In view of the economic reforms in the two countries, the session discussed improving the work of the commission in line with changes in management methods and in the leading role of independent enterprises and economic organizations.

Because of the importance of the issue, it was decided to set up two standing subcommittees to be responsible for direct cooperation, for joint enterprises, and for scientific-technological cooperation. However, there are still obstacles to tightening various links between Polish and Bulgarian enterprises because of the inefficient mechanisms of cooperation. It was therefore decided to set up a joint group of experts who will propose changes and improvements in these mechanisms.

The session noted that cooperation in line with the long-term program continues to be favorable in planning, in chemical and light industries, in agriculture, and in food industry.

The crucial subject of the session was scientific-technological cooperation. As an important measure, this year's "Days of Polish Science and Technology" in Sofia should promote this cooperation.

The session positively appraised Polish-Bulgarian trade. In 1987 the value of this trade exceeded R1 billion for the first time. It is expected that in 1988 this trade will increase about 8 percent in relation to the planned target.

Ministers Wladyslaw Gwiazda and Andrey Lukanov chaired the session.

Jaruzelski Receives Finnish Social Democrats

LD192120 Warsaw PAP in English 2031 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 19—PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today a delegation of the Finnish Social Democratic Party (SDP) headed by the party's secretary-general Ulpu Iivari.

Development of cooperation between Poland and Finland was assessed as positive. Views were exchanged upon the current international situation. The sides deemed it necessary to consolidate conditions for all-round European cooperation and confidence building in the relations between states of our continent which had been initiated with the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Cooperation and Security in Europe.

In this context, the SDP delegation stressed the importance of the plan to decrease armaments and to increase confidence in central Europe that had been put forward by Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The talk also referred to other proposals the materialization of which would encourage improvement of the political climate in relations between the CSCE states-signatories. Discussed were the idea to establish a European council for confidence building and the proposal for the non-nuclear nations to cooperate for the sake of disarmament, of which the Finnish Social Democratic Party is a co-author.

Interest was re-affirmed in an enlivenment of the multiplane dialogue which deals with confidence building in the region of the Baltic Sea.

A conviction was voiced that cooperation of left-wing forces on issues pertaining to consolidation of security on the European continent should bear fruit in the form of specific contribution into the European political thought.

Czyrek Meets With FRG Politicians

LD191919 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Jerzy Tepli report from Bonn]

[Text] Today in the FRG capital Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the party Central Committee, who is on a visit here, began his talks. The Polish politician is the official guest of Hans Stercken, chairman of the Bundestag Foreign Affairs commission

and leading representative of the ruling Christian Democratic Union, at whose invitation he is paying the visit. Today Jozef Czyrek had talks with his host and also had a meeting with Philipp Jenninger, president of the Bundestag and also a Christian Democratic politician. In a few minutes the Polish guest is talking with Helmuth Becker, chairman of the Polish circle of the Social Democratic Parliamentary group.

The visit by Jozef Czyrek, chairman of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Commission, is a practical way of implementing the stimulation of relations announced in the capitals of the two states. It proceeds from bilateral needs and from the European climate, which today remains under the influence of policies of disarmament and detente. The visit, which will last until the end of the week, envisages meetings between the Polish guest and leading representatives of FRG political life.

Delegate Tells UN Commission of Trade Status

LD190400 Warsaw PAP in English
2124 GMT 18 Apr 88

[By PAP correspondent Edward Dylawerski]

[Text] Geneva, April 18—During the 43rd session of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), currently underway here, Poland's permanent representative to GATT, Piotr Freyberg, said that the size of Poland's foreign trade in 1987 grew by 4.7 percent. He also said that there has been a significant growth of the value of Poland's exports in comparison with 1986—especially to the industrialized countries (by more than 22 percent), with imports from this group of countries increasing by 14.2 percent. Despite this fact Poland's share in the international division of labour still falls short of expectations. This is why Poland will undertake efforts aimed at further developing trade relations and economic cooperation with its partners.

Freyberg added that Poland hoped for more determination of Western countries in developing economic and technological cooperation with socialist states and a wider application of means which would simplify direct coproduction between enterprises. Poland is interested in all forms of industrial cooperation, with particular hopes being pinned on the joint ventures being created in Poland, Freyberg said.

In the Polish Government's opinion, a barrier-free access to foreign markets and a just resolution of the debt problem are indispensable elements for the creation of the means of production which are necessary for economic development, poland assigned 2 billion dollars for debt servicing in 1987 and nearly 10 billion dollars between 1982 and 1987. However, Poland's debt in that period jumped from 26 to over 39 billion dollars.

"Despite great efforts we are still incapable of fully meeting our financial obligations. The experiences of other debtor countries confirm that the solution of the world debt problem exceeds the capabilities of the debtor states and cannot be achieved without cooperation with the creditor countries.

"The solution of the problem should be based on the principle: The most favourable terms applied to one of the debtor countries should also be applied to other seriously indebted states," Freyberg said.

Function To Commemorate Ghetto Uprising

AU201515 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
18 Apr 88 pp 1, 2

[PAP report: "The 45th Anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising—Awards of 'The Just Among World Nations' Medals"]

[Excerpts] The 17 April Warsaw ceremony during which almost 150 Poles were handed over "The Just Among World Nations" medals and certificates was another important event among the functions to mark the 45th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. These medals and certificates are awarded by Yad Vashem in Jerusalem to those who, risking their own lives, continued to help and shelter the persecuted Jews during the occupation. [passage omitted]

Opening the ceremony, General Jan Kaminski, chairman of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy and of the committee for marking the 45th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, stressed that the award function was taking place in the National Remembrance Month and coincided with the 45th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. All this, he said, helps renew the memory of the war, the occupation, and the crimes committed by German fascists. It is during the month of remembrance that we pay special homage to martyrs and heroes and recall that German fascism treated with particular hatred the Polish citizens of Jewish nationality.

Poles and Jews perished en masse as victims of Hitlerite terror. Our people, who were decimated during the occupation, lived under the threat of the death sentence hanging over them, but the Jewish people were sentenced to immediate death. In the face of this horrible crime, J. Kaminski recalled, the Poles took active measures to offer sympathy, help, and solidarity to their Jewish countrymen.

The most noble and courageous among these Poles continued to rescue, hide, protect, and take care of their Jewish fellow citizens, risking their own lives and the lives of their relatives. The sum total of the individual acts of human solidarity in saving lives is a fine testimony to the Poles' moral integrity.

We want this to live forever in our national memory, to be properly propagated the world over, and to be an ever vital affidavit to the Polish people's internationalism

and moral uprightness. J. Kaminski expressed gratitude to the Yad Vashem for appreciating that truth and for demonstrating this appreciation to our people. [passage omitted]

Referring to the unprecedented drama of the Jewish people, Dr Icchak Arad, head of the Yad Vashem, said that today it is possible to state what happened at that time and how, but we still do not know why. Why was it that despite its rich culture and moral values, mankind committed such crimes in the 20th century against millions and millions of human beings, including children, old people, women, and men, whose only sin was that they were born Jews? For this reason they were condemned to annihilation.

What happened, Dr Arad continued, was not an unexpected natural disaster. It was murder planned and executed with premeditation in the face of the entire world. Millions and millions of sons of other nations were also murdered by the fascist beast. Very many Poles, especially the Polish intelligentsia, were among these victims. [passage omitted]

Addressing "the just," Dr Arad said that their noble deeds had saved lives and that such deeds are of great educational value for the present and the future. [passage omitted] Just Poles, you have given examples of true heroism, brotherhood, and friendship among people....

Moshe Bejski, chairman of the Yad Vashem commission for "the just," said among other things: One's holy duty is never to forget oppressors and to condemn them, but it is also one's holy duty to remember the benefactors—those noble and quiet heroes who could not come to terms with the sufferings of their neighbors. We should never forget that in those days it was difficult to help the Jews because Hitlerite barbarians punished whoever tried in any way to offer help to the Jews. It is true that many Poles lost their freedom and even lives for giving shelter and help to the Jews. [passage omitted]

I. Arad and M. Bejski handed over "The Just Among World Nations" medals and certificates to the Poles who had saved the Jews from annihilation. [passage omitted]

Jaruzelski Meets World Jewish Congress Group

LD192115 Warsaw PAP in English
2020 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 19—President of Poland's Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today a delegation of the World Jewish Congress headed by its Vice-President Kalman Sultanik. The delegation had arrived in Poland at the invitation of the Committee for the observance of the 45th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.

The talks referred to topics from the common history of Poles and Jews, particularly those related to the struggle and martyrdom during the Second World War.

It was emphasized that Nazi crimes of genocide must not be subject to limitation or oblivion. They are recalled by the 45th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising which is observed within Poland's National Remembrance month, celebrated every year in April.

Wojciech Jaruzelski said that Polish land which hid the ashes of millions of Nazi victims should remind of the perpetrators of the Polish-Jewish tragedy as well as reconcile the present and the future generations of Poles and Jews, irrespective of their current places of residence.

Also discussed were problems of social and political reforms in Poland, including the process of indepth interpretation of modern history, with emphasis on the events of 1968.

Kalman Sultanik delivered words of gratitude to Poland's authorities for their care over the sites of Jewish Martyrdom and monuments of Jewish culture in Poland.

While discussing the common struggle of Poles and Jews against the Nazi men-slaughters, Mr Sultanik assured of the unrelenting determination on the part of the World Jewish Congress to prosecute and punish Nazi criminals and to consistently counteract rebirth of revanchism and neo-fascism.

Views on some international problems were also exchanged.

PZPR Politburo Evaluates Reform, Other Issues

LD192052 Warsaw PAP in English
1903 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 19—The PUWP CC Political Bureau today evaluated how the reform of the organizational structures of the economy was proceeding along with the work still carried out in this field.

The Political Bureau also reviewed the completed and planned changes in the structures of the local state administration.

The bureau approved of the results of Zbigniew Messner's visit to Moscow and recommended to urgently put into effect the conclusions stemming from it.

The Political Bureau acquainted itself with information about the state of work on preparing a convention between Poland and the Holy See.

Jaruzelski Attends Journalists Meeting

LD190429 Warsaw PAP in English
2048 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 18—The participation of journalists in the processes of reforming the economy and the state, and the democratization of our life was discussed

here today by editors-in-chief and publicists of the press, radio and tv from the entire country. The meeting was attended by PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Present were also political Bureau Members: PUWP CC Secretary Jan Glowczyk and Sejm (Polish Parliament) Deputy Speaker Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski.

Press Cited on Opposition, Security
AU201625 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 16 Apr 88 p 2

[From the "press review"]

[Text] ODRODZENIE on 19 March published a statement by Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki [not further identified]. Here is an excerpt from it:

"Whether there will be some kind of opposition in Poland is not a matter of indifference, because if we are to activate our people, we must have some opposition. This can easily be done by assuming that, for example, the governing party—like the French gentry at the end of the 18th century—elects 60-70 percent of the Sejm deputies, the clergy 10 percent, and the nonparty estate 20-30 percent. It is possible to look for such solutions, while taking it for granted that the government should be stabilized and that no one should threaten it. One should not say 'we will not give up power,' because this is a bad slogan, just as bad as the slogan 'we will seek power at any price.' The Poles should not talk like that to each other. But we must trigger social militancy."

PRAWO I ZYCIE on 2 April published an interview with General of Brigade Henryk Dankowski, undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Internal Affairs and head of the Security Service, by Iwona Jurczenko. Here is an excerpt from it

[Jurczenko] Do you tap telephone conversations?

[Dankowski] This is just another myth, or even an obsession. We are not that curious. We have tapping facilities, but you must remember that such activities must be sanctioned by law. I have in mind the rules of the penal procedure, and of the 1983 law on the office of the minister of internal affairs and the range of powers of the bodies subordinated to him. In addition, checking on phone conversations is limited to what is really indispensable and necessary. For example, espionage, terrorism, and murder.

WPROST on 3 April carries a report on Piotr Jaroszewicz [former PZPR leader and premier] by Marek Zieleniewski. Here are excerpts from it:

For a few years now, an elderly man has been engrossed in gardening. (...) Late in the evening he sometimes drives his green Peugeot to Warsaw to recall some features of the capital. But he never travels anywhere for any longer time. It seems that the climate of the Anin woods suits him and that he is at his best in his three-story house, which is surrounded by cedars and which at one time was owned by Julian Tuwim [Polish poet]. The old man's heart is a bit weak, but there is a reliable heart clinic not far from his house. (...)

I pushed the bell and introduced myself. The old man opened the gate and shooed off his dog. His cloth cap concealed his eyes. He was hunched and emaciated.

"Mr Premier," I said to him, and spent a long time carefully choosing the words to ask him for an interview. He looked at the copies of the weekly and suddenly asked:

"Who is it you want to talk to?"

"Well..., I want to talk to Premier Jaroszewicz."

"He is away and will be away for a long time. Please come again in a month's time."

He slammed the gate. For a moment I could see his well-known profile. There were more wrinkles in his face, and he had a small moustache, which was too small to use as a screen to hide behind.

GAZETA POZNANSKA on 25 March published an interview with Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, Politburo member and chairman of the Central Control-Revision Commission, by Zygmunt Rola. Here is an excerpt from it:

[Rola] Do conservative forces exist in the party that are capable of hindering the program for reforms?

[Mokrzyszczak] No, such forces do not exist, but what is very dangerous is concealed conservatism, which is connected with avoiding effort and which is very difficult to get rid of. It goes without saying that this phenomenon and the attitudes it produces are difficult to identify, because of their specific character. It is possible to notice this phenomenon in the party to a smaller extent, but it is important not to make light of it.

GLOS WIELKOPOLSKI on 26-27 April published an interview with Prof Dr Maciej Giertych, member of the Primate's Council, member of the State Council's Consultative Council, and organizer of the "Slowo i czyn" company and of the SLOWO NARODOWE publishing firm, by Wlodzimierz Braniecki. Here is an excerpt from it:

[Braniecki] What about the plans of the SLOWO NARODOWE publishing firm? What ideological assumptions do you want to put into practice?

[Giertych] At first, we want to publish books dealing with Poland's history, especially the history of the 20th century, from national positions. The national camp has

always relied on so-called geopolitics, that is, on realistic appraisals of the external situation in which Polish policy must function, and on activities that do not harm the nation above all. Under the present conditions, it is in Poland's interest to stick to the Warsaw Pact and CEMA. This is connected with the fact that our state and the integrity of our borders may come under threat if any crisis occurs in central Europe, a crisis in which German influence could gain in strength at the cost of Russian [rosyjska] influence. As was the case before World War I, the basic element of the national thought today is orientation toward alliance with Russia [Rosja]. The national camp dos not rely on emotions, and on likes or dislikes. It relies on the effectiveness of interest.

Ceausescu Returns to Bucharest 21 Apr

AU211205 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1144 GMT 21 Apr 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 21/4/1988—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, together with Mme Elena Ceausescu, returned to Bucharest on April 21 in the afternoon, after visits paid to the Republic of Indonesia, Australia, Vietnam and Mongolia.

The Romanian party and state leader was accompanied on these visits by Stefan Andrei, Silviu Curticeanu, Ioan Totu.

Reportage of Mongolian Visit

For coverage of President Nicolae Ceausescu's visit to Mongolia, including his meetings with the chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the MPR Jambyn Batmonh, see the Mongolia section of the 21 April East Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Officials Celebrate Syria's National Day

Ceausescu Greets Al-Asad

AU191212 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Apr 88 p 5

[Cable sent by President Nicolae Ceausescu "To Mr Hafiz al-Asad on the National Day of the Syrian Arab Republic"]

[Text] To Mr Hafiz al-Asad, president of the Syrian Arab Republic, Damascus,

On the National Day of the Syrian Arab Republic, I take particular pleasure in conveying warm congratulations and best wishes for good health and personal happiness to you on behalf of the Romanian people and on my own behalf.

I want to express the firm conviction that the traditional relations of friendship and fruitful cooperation between our countries will constantly develop in the spirit of what we agreed on during our meetings in Bucharest and Damascus.

I want to take this opportunity to extend wishes for progress, peace, and prosperity to the friendly Syrian people.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania.

Dascalescu Greets Counterpart

AU191214 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Apr 88 p 5

[Text] Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, has sent a telegram to Mahmud al-Zu'bi, president of the Council of Ministers of the Syrian Arab Republic, on the national holiday, conveying warm congratulations to him, together with best wishes for good health and complete success in his activity.

Daily Marks National Holiday

AU191213 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Apr 88 p 5

[Unattributed editorial article: "On the National Holiday of the Syrian Arab Republic"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The achievements attained by the Syrian people on the road to building a new life are followed with interest and friendship by the Romanian people, who harbor feelings of great friendship toward the Arab peoples by supporting the fulfillment of their aspirations for progress and well-being. As is known, continuously developing relations of close friendship have been established between Romania and Syria. A decisive role in this positive development has been and continues to be played by the meetings in Damascus and Bucharest between President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Hafiz al-Asad, which each time ended with accords and agreements opening up broad prospects for cooperation between the two countries. Among the most significant examples of this fruitful cooperation are the large refinery in Banias, the triple-superphosphate [as published] plant in Homs, the cement factory in Shaykh Sa'id, and the hydromelioration project in the Euphrates valley.

Continuing to intensify Romanian-Syrian multifaceted cooperation is fully in keeping with the interests of the two countries, and is also an important contribution to the cause of peace and international understanding.

Ceausescu Cables AKEL Party on Leader's Death

AU181829 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 13 Apr 88 p 5

[Message from RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu to the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus—AKEL on the death of the party General Secretary Ezekias Papaioannou]

[Text] To the Central Committee of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus—AKEL,

We learned with deep sorrow of the passing away of Comrade Ezekias Papaioannou, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus—AKEL.

On behalf of the RCP Central Committee and on my own behalf, we extend to you and to all the members of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus—AKEL—our most sincere condolences and our feelings of great compassion to the bereaved family.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general.

Further on Mikulic's Official Visit to FRG

LD201728 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1314 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Hannover, April 20 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Branko Mikulic told Wednesday the West German television that Yugoslavia is preparing to establish new economic relations and scientific and technical cooperation with the European Community (EC) countries after they set up a unified market in 1992.

Mikulic also said that although Yugoslavia is ready to participate in the economic integration processes in Europe, it intends to remain "such as it is," i.e. nonaligned and independent, in the politically divided European Continent.

On the question whether he had sought financial aid for Yugoslavia during talks with West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Mikulic stressed that he did not come for aid but for "talks as partners on an equal footing." He also said that Yugoslav-West German trade totals some 11 billion DM a year, which makes Yugoslavia West Germany's significant trade partner. Yugoslavia rightfully expects Bonn's support, stressed Mikulic, adding that he had very constructive talks in this regard Tuesday evening.

Asked about the impending constitutional changes in Yugoslavia, Mikulic said that they will create much better conditions for small-scale businesses and for Yugoslavs temporarily employed abroad who intend to start such businesses when they return home.

Investments by Yugoslavs employed abroad into the national economy should be treated in the same way as the capital invested by foreigners.

Mikulic and Kohl Tuesday opened the Hannover Fair at which 120 Yugoslav firms are exhibiting their production potentials.

Advocates Foreign Investment

LD201919 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1720 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Hannover, April 20 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Premier Branko Mikulic said today that Yugoslavia intends to open widely open to joint investments, industrial cooperation and other forms of long-term ties with foreign (?partners). [sentence as received]

Mikulic was speaking at a large Yugoslav-F.R. German economic gathering in Hannover. He noted that mixed banks, which can be formed under Yugoslav regulations, could play a great role in that orientation but that the best guarantee for foreign partners are their estimates on the financial justification of investing in Yugoslavia.

"As far as I know, no foreign investor ever lost capital in Yugoslavia," Mikulic said.

At the start of two-day business meetings on joint investments by the two countries' firms, Mikulic pointed out that through constitutional changes, Yugoslavia intends to remove all obstacles to transfer of capital, protection of investments from unconventional risks, reinvestment of capital, joint management of enterprises, sales of part or the whole investment.

Yugoslav Premier Mikulic said that Yugoslavia would increase equipment imports with a view to modernizing the national economy and opening (?itself wider) to the rest of the world. In that context, the position of West German firms, exporters of modern technology, will depend on how (?much) room will be secured for Yugoslav goods on the West German market, the Yugoslav premier set out.

Mikulic said that Yugoslavia raised its exports by 30 percent in the first quarter of 1988 and recorded a trade surplus of 250 million dollars. However, as he specified, foreign debt payments consume around 10 percent of Yugoslavia's gross national product, which Mikulic said was "an immense and unbearable burden".

Yugoslav Premier Mikulic underscored the importance of support to Yugoslavia in "fresh funds" on the basis of the recently concluded one-year stand-by arrangement with the International Monetary Fund.

A Yugoslav programme of new measures, which is to take effect on May 15 this year, envisages also the liberalization of the bulk of prices, of imports and of the foreign-currency market.

The Yugoslav Federal Government (?hopes) for the understanding of foreign creditors, especially those in Europe. "We are a European country and it is in the interest of European states to have Yugoslavia record a successful economic development and to be socially and politically stable", Mikulic set out.

Premier Mikulic underscored that Yugoslavia was interested in economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the European "twelve" after the establishment of a single E.C. market in 1992. We shall work together to create conditions for an unimpeded trade and scientific-technological cooperation, the Yugoslav premier set out in conclusion.

Returns From FRG

LD201659 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1618 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Apr (TANJUG)—This afternoon, FEC President Branko Mikulic returned from Hannover where, last night, he and West German Chancellor Hulmut Kohl opened the International Industrial Fair.

This year Yugoslavia has been honored as the country-partner at the fair, which is the biggest world exhibition of industrial achievements.

During his visit to Hannover, Branko Mikulic held talks with Helmut Kohl. At the talks, the overall development of and prospects for economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and the FRG were discussed.

At Batajnica Airport, Branko Mikulic was welcomed by Janez Zemljaric, vice president of the FEC; Zoran Miskovic, secretary general of the FEC; Trajko Trajkovski, under secretary in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs; and other officials.

FRG ambassador to Yugoslavia, Hans-Joerg Eiff, was also present.

Syrian Leaders Congratulated on National Day

Mikulic Greets Al-Zu'bi

AU200817 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Apr 88 p 2

[Text] On the occasion of the national day of the Syrian Arab Republic, Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC, sent congratulations to Syrian Prime Minister Mahmud al-Zu'bi.

Mojsov Greets Al-Asad

AU200816 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Apr 88 p 2

[Text] On behalf of the SFRY Presidency, Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, sent a telegram with cordial congratulations and best wishes to Hafiz al-Asad, president of the Syrian Arab Republic, on the occasion of Syria's national day.

Mojsov Sends Greetings to Cambodia's Sihanouk

AU200819 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Apr 88 p 2

[Text] On the occasion of the national day of Democratic Kampuchea, Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, sent a telegram with cordial congratulations and best wishes to Norodom Sihanouk, president of Democratic Kampuchea.

Finance Secretary Receives U.S. Ambassador

LD201943 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1601 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Apr (TANJUG)—Svetozar Rikanovic, member of the FEC and federal secretary for finance, today received U.S. Ambassador John Scanlan, at the latter's request.

Krunic Addresses LCY CC Presidium

LD192113 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1230 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 19 Apr (TANJUG)—In order to more quickly overcome the crisis, we must break away from the practice of political pressures on associated labor and ways to organize it, particularly because they are most frequently aimed at adapting the organization of the economy to political and not economic needs. In other words, apart from the constitutional right of associated labor to decide about the acquisition and distribution of income, it should also be ensured that associated labor can choose independently and in accordance with self-managing principles a form of organization in which it could implement this right, of course, within the function of the development of self-management and the observance of market laws.

This was the essence of a discussion lasting several hours at today's session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium on the ideo-political questions of self-managing organization and decisionmaking in associated labor. The discussion was in fact conducted in connection with the forthcoming session of the LCY Central Committee, at which conclusions should be adopted on all these important questions. The Presidium will perhaps as early as the next session produce final draft conclusions on the basis of today's useful comments and suggestions and submit them to the LCY Central Committee. [passage omitted]

The basic point of departure for all the participants in today's discussion was that the LCY Central Committee should not establish concrete shapes and forms for the self-managing organization of associated labor, rather its duty is to establish as clearly as possible ideo-political stances on the most important issues in this sphere. Taking this assessment as his starting point, the first participant in the discusion, Vidoje Zarkovic, stressed that the LC, in defining its ideo-political stances, must start with a critical analysis of practice and current social needs in the further development of our system. This is also important because lately solutions have been put forward and proposed for some of our problems which represent an attempt to replace socialist self-management with some other system. The LC will successfully push the proponents of such ideologies and policies from the political scene by initiating, together with other socialist forces, essential changes in the system.

As well as these fundamental assessments, Zarkovic broadly presented the opinions and suggestions of the LCY Central Committee Presidium commission for the political system, of which he is president. One of the suggestions of the commission is that the conclusions should develop the organization of associated labor through the banking system. This means that banks, like production organizations, should become market-oriented, with an interest in the fate of investments, and bearing a risk for operational decisions. It also believes that the planning systme has not gained a suitable place in the draft conclusions because, with an increasingly strong reliance on the market laws for the production of goods, it is vital also to strengthen the role of social planning which is anyway done in capitalist countries which clearly have market economies. Zarkovic believes that it is essential to limit the duties and responsibilities

of self-managing, management, and political factors in basic organizations of associated labor since at present responsibilities are confused to a considerable extent, so that it is almost the case that everyone does everything. [passage omitted]

Taking part in the discussion, Bosko Krunic noted that calls for deregulation could create the impression that what is being called for is some unregulated state of affairs. In fact, what is in question is the need to create conditions for self-regulation, which is inherent in business subjectivity and economic independence. Giving a series of specific proposals for improving the text of the draft proposals, Krunic noted that the duty of Communists and members of other socio-political organizations to have a stronger presence in associated labor in order to help it, in order to provide links and to encourage it, should be more strongly stressed. Calling for precision in formulating conclusions, he said that we do not gain much from serious and big words which we not infrequently opt for. Krunic, like other participants in the discussion, believes that the part of the draft conclusions which relates to social ownership should be more fundamentally revised and that the stances already adopted on these issues by the LCY Central Committee should be used.

The Presidium today adopted stances on the current tasks of the LC in the development of the delegate system, about which a detailed discussion was held at its previous session. The main direction of the LC in this area, the document states, is the de-etatization of social reproduction and the de-bureaucratization of the political system. Starting from these assessments, it is vital that the LC realizes its leading ideo-political role in basic self-managing organizations and communities, in the delegate system, and in the uninstitutionalized area of public democratic influence.

The tasks are formulated in nine items, and to sum these up, their essence is the eradication of exaggerated normativism in social processes, the advocacy of the widest possible application of direct elections, the overcoming of the existing dominance of the executive-management organs over the delegate assemblies, the advocacy of a greater influence for associated labor in assembly decisionmaking and, other points. The stances will be submitted to the constitutional commission of the SFRY Assembly, the SFRY Presidency, all socio-political organs and organizations of the federation, and the central and provincial LC committees. The adopted stances will serve as guidelines to delegates of the LCY Central Committee Presidium for the coordination of these issues in the corresponding institutions of the system. [passage omitted]

Grlickov Notes Rifts in LCY Leadership

LD190925 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1435 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] Skopje, 18 Apr (TANJUG)—Past developments confirmed that the LCY program adopted 30 years ago made a significant contribution to the efforts to do away with Marxist dogmas and to liberate socialist thought and strategy in socialist countries. Reiterating this aspect of the program's historical importance, the participants in a roundtable on "The LCY Program and Yugoslavia's Future Development" held in Skopje today wanted to know at the same time why the LCY program was in such discrepancy with Yugoslavia's reality, and whether it should be changed.

In his introductory report, Dr Aleksandar Grlickov, member of the Council of the Federation, called for the revision of those provisions in the program which have either become outmoded or which are likely to be wrongly interpreted. To draw up a completely new program would exhaust our capacities. In its present version, the LCY Program is no obstacle to developing mixed economy or the theory and political practice of socialist self-managing democracy.

Grlickov went on to warn of divisions in the LCY resulting from differing views of ways out of the crisis. Unaware of the nature of the differences, a section of the LC membership has identified itself with standpoints not recognized as the leadership's official stands. It is not always clear whose standpoints are more productive and beneficial. The conflict between the leadership and the rank and file members has, in Grlickov's view, become a chronic one. It has become a "state of mind" in the LCY. Some elements of the most basic power struggle and of seeking to lay blame for what happened in the past on previous generations seem to be at the bottom of the rift between the leaderships themselves. Grlickov also noted the "worrying degree of passivity" among the majority of the LCY members which basically results from dissatisfaction, he said.

Assembly Reorganizes Administrative Bodies

LD202143 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1459 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] An emergency procedure was applied to adopt the changes and amendments to the law on the organization and powers of the federal administrative organs and federal organizations.

In order to rationalize work and make it more efficient, the Federal Secretariat for Markets and General Economic Affairs and the Federal Committee for Energy and Industry will be amalgamated into the Federal Secretariat for Economy. The Federal Committee for Legislation is being abolished and its functions taken over by the Federal Secretariat for Justice and Organization of Federal Administration. The delegates decided that the Federal Secretariat for Information and the Federal Committee for Veterans and Disabled Veterans Affairs should be left as they are and continue to operate in the same way in the reorganized administration. [passage omitted]

Today delegates also adopted a report on the implementation of TANJUG's editorial policy last year. The report contains a very positive assesament of the agency's work, noting that TANJUG acted as a mobilizing and cohesive factor in the country's information system.

A program was also adopted for TANJUG's activities in 1988 and proposed conclusions were reached by the SFRY Assembly's Commission for Information, which emphasizes the need to carry out its work in spheres of importance for the federation's functioning and funds to finance the agency's technological development, so it does not lag behind world agencies in exchanging information in the world information system. [passage omitted]

Delegates also reacted today to a report on talks between representatives of the SFRY Assembly and members of the European Parliament in Strasbourg at the beginning of the year. More precisely, they reacted to the resolution made at the end of the report on the right to freedom of thought in Eastern countries.

The European Parliament thereby demands that the principles of the free movement of people and ideas that were endorsed in Helsinki be observed in East European countries, including Yugoslavia. It also wishes to abolish prison sentences for those who advocate freedom of thought. A list of 28 persons was quoted, half of whom are from our country.

Joze Susmelj thought that this should not be accepted. He proposed that its contents be examined by authorized working bodies of the SFRY Assembly and a reply submitted to the European Parliament. He also said that he was under the impression that we are too silent when it comes to attacks of this kind, which can be interpreted as our tacit agreement.

Omer Kurpejovic, president of the chamber, pointed out that in this case it is only a matter of supporting the report and not the resolution. Accepting the report, delegates charged the Committee for Foreign Policy to prepare a report on this case for the next session of the Federal Chamber.

Agrokomerc Director's Trial To Open 5 May

LD191522 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1358 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Bihac, April 19 (TANJUG)—The trial of former Agrokomerc Director Fikret Abdic will start on May 5 in Bihac, it was announced in this town in Yugoslavia's Bosnia and Hercegovina Republic today.

Abdic is the first accused in the largest post-war financial affair in Yugoslavia, involving Agrokomerc, an agricultural-industrial enterprise.

Four other former Agrokomerc management members and Hakija Pozderac will go on trial with Abdic. Hakija Pozderac is a former member of the Federation Council and a very influential official in Bosnia and Hercegovina.

300 witness will testify at the trial. 25 lawyers will defend the accused. The five are charged with various financial malversations, especially the issuing of around 900 million dollars worth of uncovered promissory notes in national currency.

Many political officials of the Bosnia and Hercegovina Republic were involved in the affair, including the late former Yugoslav State Presidency Vice-President Hamdija Pozderac. Hamdija Pozderac resigned the post when the affair broke out last autumn.

Loncar Addresses Vojvodina Presidency

LD191826 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1521 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Novi Sad, 19 Apr (TANJUG)—Talks were held today at the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Vojvodina with Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, about the current international situation and Yugoslavia's relations and cooperation with individual countries and regions. The issues of formulating and implementing Yugoslavia's foreign policy and having constitutional changes and responsibility resting with socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces in that sphere were also referred to. Consideration was also given to a number of issues of cadre policy within the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs and diplomatic and consular missions abroad.

The following took part in the talks: Djordje Radosavljevic, president of the Presidency of the SAP of Vojvodina; Dobrivoj Radic, president of the Assembly of the SAP of Vojvodina; Jon Srbovan, president of the Executive Council of the SAP of Vojvodina; Istvan Rajcan, president of the Presidium of the Provincial Conference of Vojvodina SAWP; Milovan Sogorov, secretary of the Presidium of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee; and a number of other provincial officials.

In the talks with Budimir Loncar, Jan Srbovan, the president of Vojvodina's Executive Council, and his aides concentrated on cooperation between the province's organs and organizations with similar organs and organizations in other countries within the framework of the SFRY's foreign policy. Particular attention was devoted to the topical issues of relations and cooperation with neighboring countries.

Yugoslavia's foreign policy has developed into a global policy whose presence is felt in every corner of the world. It has become a global act. However, it has not developed

into a global force, Budimir Loncar said. He spoke at the Stevan Doronjski Center for Political Studies and Marxist Education of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee.

Our role in world processes has been an important one, but we have nevertheless failed to realise that any foreign policy, especially if it aspires to be wide-ranging and strong, must have [words indistinct] to thought and reality. We have failed to take note of developments, such as the technological revolution and changes it is likely to bring about in production, the social sphere, structural changes...

The federal secretary for foreign affairs went on to define the main characteristics of contemporary international relations, above all relations between the superpowers, developments in world trouble spots, events in the Near East, southern Africa, and the Horn of Africa, in Afghanistan, Cambodia, and Central America. Among the main characteristics, Loncar also included economic trends and differences in the level of development between the North and the South and the debt crisis, which is becoming increasingly exacerbated as their main manifestations.

In reference to the international security system, Loncar noted, among other things, that it should be based on continued transformation in world relations, not only in the process of mechanical [mehanickog] detente but also in the process of democratization in international relations.

MLADINA's 'Counterrevolutionary' Editorial

AU191250 Ljubljana MLADINA in Slovene
No 11 16 Mar 88 p 1

[Editorial: "In the Name of the People: To the Defenders of the Revolution"]

[Text] As long as you offer as revolution:

—a state presidency that considers it more important to occupy itself with the writings of a youth magazine than with financial scandals and corruption;

—a 200-percent rate of inflation;

—an economy that is on its last legs;

—over $20 billion of foreign debt that you also used for your [word blackened out as if censored], villas, and privileges;

—thousands of unemployed;

—threats with arms;

—a foreign policy that diminishes the world's respect for the country;

—inhuman sales of arms in the greed for profits;

—a racist population policy in some parts of the country [several words blackened out];

—long-term prison sentences for thought crimes;

—infallibility of the LC and its monopoly in all fields;

—an army that we may only praise;

—expensive rituals;

—a cadre policy in which you merely replace each other in leading offices;

—a future without prospects for the young and creative generation;

we are really left with no other choice but to play the game of counterrevolution and demand:

—a state that consistently upholds the rule of law;

—freedom of thought, speech, and association;

—the independence of courts;

—the breaking up of the monopoly of the L [several words blackened out];

—the right to strike;

—the right of conscientious objection;

—direct elections;

—public control over the Yugoslav People's Army, and foreign and domestic policy;

—a market economy;

—sovereign intellectual competition in the information market;

—that losses be left uncovered;

—the introduction of private property;

—integration with central and Western Europe;

—the recognition of the legitimacy of differences in Yugoslavia.

For, if your [word blackened out] lasts much longer, we will indeed leap over capitalism, but in the reverse direction, in the direction of feudalism; and if you consider that our counterrevolution seriously hinders you in this respect and you intend to silence us, please convey this wish to us, so that we may get off from this sinking ship in time, because we do not wish to go down

with it. You need not fear that we will play the game of counterrevolution in any other way. However, our generation, which is capable and possesses the energy to come to grips with the 21st century, will unfortunately leave and fill the third Slovene university [there are two Slovene universities in the SFRY, in Ljubljana and Maribor]. We leave the moaning to you, perhaps you will need it, you subscribers to [word blackened out].

Counterrevolutionary Editorial Board.

Admiral Brovet on MLADINA, 'Special War'

AU171545 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2543 7 Apr 88 pp 3-4

[Speech by Vice Admiral Stane Brovet, under secretary in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, in the debate at the joint session of the SFRY Assembly National Defense Committee, Internal Policy Committee, and Control of State Security Service Work Commission held in Belgrade on 29 March]

[Text] There has been an anti-Army campaign in some circles, particularly in a section of the media, for several years now, but it has become more aggressive recently.

When one sees the facts, it is obvious that attacks in public against the concept of the all-people's defense and the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] are most intensive in the SR of Slovenia.

It is not difficult to realize that the intensity of the attacks increased not only with the continuation and deepening of the social crisis, but also with the establishment of alternative movements and associations in this region. All this coincides with known processes in international relations that result in an intensified orientation toward the indirect strategy of realizing unchanged strategic targets, and it is known that the basic instruments of that strategy are special war and so-called low-intensity conflicts.

Similarity With Known Principles of Special War [subhead]

When the aforementioned attacks are observed in their entirety, the following conclusions can be made:

1. The attacks point to the existence of a complex philosophical, ideological, and political platform that is in irreconcilable opposition to the tenets of our society and the LCY. Various separate initiatives and demands are only parts of a broader political platform showing itself to be a consistent political program. These initiatives and demands include civilian army service, questioning of the YPA financing system and its development plans, demands that YPA units be formed on a national basis, that YPA functions be transferred to republican army formations, that the Army be depoliticized and pushed out of social life back into the barracks, that the country's arms and military equipment be made dependent on foreign countries, and so on.

Attacks against the YPA and the concept of all-people's defense and social self-protection represent only a portion of the general assault of anti-self-managing and antisocialist forces against the overall achievements of our revolution. They are calculated on achieving a very important segmental aim—to make it impossible for the Armed Forces, security service, judicial organs, and other factors of the social self-protection to perform their constitutional functions. This should be a decisive step on the road toward breaking up Yugoslavia as a united state with federal, socialist, and self-managing setup. What is involved is a platform that includes counterrevolutionary aims.

Champions of this platform leave no room for any dilemmas about its political character. Among other things, in their articles they openly advocate abolishing the leading role of the LCY, changing the sociopolitical system, and a confederal setup of the state including the option that individual parts of it may secede. Assessing that the time has come when there is no point in concealing its real aims any longer, MLADINA Editorial Board has itself started signing its editorials with "Counterrevolutionary Editorial Board." Certain foreign services have made a very similar assessment and for some time have been intensively monitoring, researching, and probably trying to direct the development of those events.

2. Forms and methods through which one tries to realize such aims are extremely similar to the known principles of special war. Those people who are acquainted with the methods of performing special actions against the SFRY cannot fail to perceive the conspicuous accord between the activity of external and internal enemy. The degree of synchronization of the method and time of various pressures and of the thematic similarity of libel and other undermining activities is such that the possibility of accident is brought into serious doubt.

Among other things, the comparison of articles in domestic newspapers with articles in the newspapers issued by hostile emigration that was recently made by BORBA and yesterday by POLITIKA is very indicative here. In the addenda to the documents prepared for this session, one can also perceive the amazing similarity between the part of the article "You incapable crowd of Communists" published in MLADINA No 35 (on page 3 of Addendum No 1) and a part of the article published in the newspaper INDEPENDENT [not further specified] (on page 2 of Addendum No 2). Here is what MLADINA says: A military coup can get support from some Serbian nationalists because it would probably lead to abolishing the present federal setup and bring Vojvodina, Kosovo, as well as some other regions back to Serbia. This would, however, infuriate non-Serbians in Yugoslavia, and

probably even make Slovenia and Croatia try to secede. Now I quote INDEPENDENT: "A possible takeover of power by the Army could be supported by some Serbian nationalists, because it would probably lead to abolishing the present federal setup and bring the Provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina, maybe even some other regions, back to Serbia, but would at the same time disunite Yugoslavs who are not Serbians, maybe even lead Slovenia and Croatia to try to secede."

That the perpetrators of this special war are not the so-called rascals of some newspapers' editorial boards is demonstrated by the fact that the authors of the harshest attacks most frequently are not the newspapers' journalists but independent contributors—members of various alternative groups and movements and already proven opponents of the LCY and self-managing socialism. They use lies, tricks, all kinds of labeling, insinuations, and defamations. This coincides with the typical forms of activity performed according to principles of special war, which can be seen from the voluminous literature on special war and most quickly from the simplified diagram on some forms of special war which was published in the magazine LOYAL [not further identified].

What attracts attention here is the way that military secrets are attacked within the framework of attacks against the YPA. We have not noticed that any other secrets (business secrets for instance) are attacked at the same time. The questions from which one tries to remove the protection of secrecy are not at all the kind that would interest our working people—that is, tactical and technical facts about a new plane, plans of developing and equipping the Armed Forces, organizational changes, evaluations of the moral-political situation, and the like—but they coincide very much with focus spheres of research of some foreign intelligence services.

We are, thus, confronted with counterrevolutionary aims that some attempt to realize with special war methods, so there is no doubt that we are dealing here with phenomena and tendencies with major political implications. It is therefore understandable that Army members observe these phenomena and tendencies with all seriousness. When assessing the degree of their social damage and danger, they justifiably ask what has made possible the public presentation of views that are at complete variance with the tenets of our society and with LCY policy, even views that should entail sanctions according to laws in force. We informed respective organs in society and the SR of Slovenia several times about specific destructive activity, but the measures that were taken were insufficient and unsuited to the intensity of their social danger. It is there that one could try to find the answer to the question why the aggressiveness of these attacks is not abating but increasing.

YPA Is One of the World Armies Most Open to the Public [subhead]

Because some reactions to the unacceptable treatment of the YPA in some media show a tendency not only toward diminishing responsibility, but also toward transferring guilt to the YPA for its alleged closeness and insufficient information given to working people and citizens, let me call your attention to information about the YPA.

When talking about the openness of the YPA as a source of information, we do not know of any army more open to the public than ours. We can also say that the YPA is no less open to the public than other institutions of our state.

There is much proof of this. The Army's openness to the public is caused by its social character and the position that our people have in the defense system. The system of all-people's defense encompasses millions of our citizens who become acquainted with many facts about our our Armed Forces during military service, in the reserves, in territorial defense, and in various national defense jobs. (For instance, the National Defense School runs an Advanced National Defense Course that has been attended by almost 3,000 people from various civilian organs and organizations, including newspaper publishing organizations. Every month, the LCY Central Committee Presidium receives a report on the YPA and the work of the LCY Organization in the YPA.)

In order that the YPA may carry out as successfully as possible its duty to be open to the public, it has set up its own system of informing the public. This system is very developed, and it is constantly expanding.

Here are only a few facts on how the public is informed about the YPA:

Every year, the federal secretary for national defense submits a report (speech) to the SFRY Assembly on the most essential questions and the results of work and development of the YPA. In addition, the SFRY Assembly chambers and their working bodies regularly discuss questions that directly or indirectly impinge on the YPA.

The SFRY Presidency, as the highest organ of leading and commanding the Armed Forces, regularly follows and influences the work and the state of the YPA. In deciding on the policy of development and equipping the Armed Forces and producing complex combat means, the Presidium consults the National Defense Council, and frequently also the National Defense Councils in the socialist republics and the socialist autonomous provinces, professional organs, and other institutions.

The FEC follows the situation in the YPA within the framework of its powers.

The congresses of the LCY, the LCY Central Committee, and its Presidium, also examine the work of the Communists in the YPA and assess it precisely in light of the situation in the YPA. This is also done by the leaderships

of the Yugoslav Socialist Youth Federation and the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation on the organizations and leaderships of the Yugoslav Socialist Youth Federation and the Trade Union Federation in the YPA.

Each public medium may have, if it wishes, its accredited correspondent for covering all-people's defense, the Armed Forces, and the YPA. There are now 300 such press, radio, and television correspondents, among whom 32 are from the area of the SR of Slovenia.

All the social and state organs responsible for public information and every editorial office of a daily receive annual orientation programs informing the people about the Armed Forces by the Political Administration of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense. These programs offer the public information media the opportunity to cover hundreds of events in the work and life of the Armed Forces and to inform the public about them. For every event offered, the YPA assumes the responsibility for making possible the information available to the public. Many public media have permanent columns devoted to the Armed Forces, and radio and television are particularly prominent among them. Sections of journalists accredited to cover all-people's defense and the Armed Forces are active in republics and provinces. Together with the Federal Secretariat for Information and the SAWPY Federal Conference, we work on setting up a permanent system of professional training for journalists accredited to cover all-people's defense and the Armed Forces.

The Political Administration of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and the Army region commands are in regular communication with these journalists, sometimes daily. For a more successful implementation of this information system, special organs for information exist in the Army region commands and in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense.

The assessment was made at the session of the Committee for Information on 12 May 1986 that the YPA is not only open, but that it is an example of organized and professional work in informing our public.

At regular annual meetings of federal, republican, provincial, and local public information media with Army representatives, no negative assessments of the kind we have heard in some circles lately have ever been made about the way the public is informed about the YPA.

The public has already been informed that over 36,000 articles concerning the YPA and defense were published during the last year only, which means that on the average about 100 articles on this topic are published every day, not taking into account radio and television programs.

Our publishers, especially the Army press, also contribute to the information provided to the public about life and work in the YPA. (YPA publishes 35 open journals of about 35,000 pages a year. The weekly NARODNA ARMIJA publishes 90,000 copies, 30,000 of which are sold outside the YPA. About 50,000 copies of the illustrated magazine FRONT are published and are very widely used in elementary and secondary schools throughout the country. The possibility of printing it in Slovene and Macedonian is being examined at the moment.)

YPA commands and institutions have regular cooperation with tens of thousands of retired officers. Within the framework of this cooperation, the officers are informed about life and work in the YPA and its development. Information about the YPA is very intensive within the Reserve Officers Federation and other social organizations, which is very important for the country's defense.

All of the more important Armed Forces excercises are organized with the participation of civilian structures. Many of them are observed by a large number of citizens, primarily reserve officers in an organized way.

Barracks and training camps are open for meetings between YPA members and Pioneers, young people, and reserve officers and retired officers.

Every garrison is integrated to a large degree into almost all activities of its community. The garrisons have always behaved as part of their town and community. The activity of army halls is in accordance with this—they are opened to the public.

Many YPA organs such as councils for scientific work, councils of military schools and academies, and councils of army halls have as members people outside the YPA too.

Soldiers as Direct Participants in and Witnesses of Events Which Form the Essence of YPA Life [subhead]

I have already said that millions of young people (a contingent of 200,000 men every year) pass through the YPA, be it during military service or during military exercises, and have an opportunity to acquaint themselves with the situation and events in the Army. Thousands of them in every generation participate in the work of Social Youth Federation and LCY organs and organizations, as well as in various bodies of internal army life. They all participate in the training, operate equipment and armament, and take part in military collectives' meetings. The majority of the work of the officers who command them takes place before their own eyes. Therefore, during their service in the YPA (as a rule, soldiers change several garrisons during their military service) soldiers and reserve officers see, experience, and get to know everything that forms the essence of the YPA life. They are direct participants and witnesses of all most important events in the Army.

Sessions of the Military Council, the Committee and the Conference of the LCY in the YPA, the Council for Scientific Work in the Armed Forces, and other sessions are attended by representatives of respective organs of the Federation and the LCY.

We are convinced that all this has created a sufficient basis for the assertion that the YPA is open to the society and its organs whose constitutional and legal responsibility it is to control, and evaluate and to direct its work. For its part, the YPA has made it possible for all the media to do their part of work in informing the public on life and work and, therefore, the situation in the Army. We have never had a single case of a working man making a remark about the Army being closed and, consequently, about his knowing less about it than he would have liked to.

It is another question, however, whether all the possibilities are used by the media sufficiently and in the right way. The situation in this respect differs from one medium to the other. We assess that most media informs the public about the YPA in a correct, that is, objective and well-intentioned way. There are some media which are insufficiently active in this respect but according to our assessment what is involved is not a rejection of the Army, but shortage of suitable journalistic cadres. However, a section of the media, including several from the SR of Slovenia, have displayed a continuous negative attitude toward the YPA. MLADINA, the organ of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Youth Federation of Slovenia, has not published a decent article on the YPA for years, apart from an interview carried several years ago and a reader's letter. The same applies to NOVA REVIJA which, like some other newspapers, does not publish articles which are positive about the YPA, only ones harmful to its social reputation. Their method and aim can be seen from the addenda to the document we are discussing today, as well as from the popularity they enjoy in the hostile emigre press.

Therefore, the extent to which the media will make use of the opportunities given to them to inform the public about the YPA depends primarily on the extent of their commitment to this task, on their journalistic cadres and on their motives.

While speaking about public information, I would also like to stress the following:

The first all-Yugoslav macroproject on all-people's defense and social self-protection has been carried out for several years at the initiative of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, and new scientific projects of general importance for defense are planned which are to be carried out with the participation of many non-Army scientific research institutions. Each of these documents and all other projects include solutions which are results achieved by all relevant social factors. We are doing all this convinced that socialized [podrustvljen] defense expressed in the ideological, organizational, and functional unity of the system of all-people's defense represents the best form of organizing society for defense.

A United System of All-People's Defense Is the Most Suitable Form of Organizing Society for Defense [subhead]

Our scientific research work is oriented by the well-known policy of relying on our own forces. It is very important for our independence and sovereignty that we managed to meet over 80 percent of our needs in armament and military equipment through our own production, 90 percent of it being our own domestic solution. Such an orientation has a direct significance for defense and the overall technical-technological development of the country, and also provides a significant foreign exchange inflow from the exports of arms and military equipment.

In the logic of things, the Armed Forces development plans, and thus also the scientific research plans, in some of their points are protected as secrets until they are accomplished. All countries do that. When they are accomplished, most of the results of scientific research work become accessible to the public. For instance, the public has been endlessly informed about all the aspects of production of a domestic tank. Among other things, it was shown at the parade and at the equipment displays [tehnicki zborovi] in 1985, and its capabilities were demonstrated during several maneuvers. There are no combat means or items of equipment in operational use at present that are not known to the public. Equipment displays are one of the ways of acquainting the public with them. (About 1.5 million people attended such a display in Belgrade in 1985 alone.) It must also be said that our special purpose production has been socialized. It is carried out by hundreds of associated labor organizations all over the country, and several tens of thousands of workers are engaged in their programs. All the special purpose industry is associated in the Community of the Armaments and Military Equipment Industry of Yugoslavia, which means that a separate so-called military industry does not exist in our country as a special organization of a military kind. Armaments and military equipment production programs are increasingly offered to the entire Yugoslav industry so that the most efficient plant may carry them out; this is to say that one tends to an ever greater competition among work organizations for participation in these projects.

The only limiting factor of the openness of the Army toward the public is determined by the need to protect those data that necessarily must be military secrets. It is well known that such protection exists in all foreign armed forces, and that it also exists in other parts of our society as regards official, business, or state secrets. Appropriate criteria are used to determine what is considered a state secret, in conformity with the law which nobody has the right to violate.

The laws of all the countries protect as military secrets data on the combat readiness of the Armed Forces, their actual organization and formations, the war preparations and plans for the use of the Armed Forces, the armaments and military equipment, particularly major items, research and development, the Armed Forces development plans and the like. Passing information to unauthorized persons is treated as a criminal act, and numerous cases of very high penalties being imposed for such deeds in various countries are known to the public. Several military, economic, and other reasons exist for this sort of treatment, there is no need to list them separately. In instances in our country when there is a need to know, it is authorized and there is no information which the Army would conceal from authorized organs.

Why then do some of our media insist on getting exactly the kind of information which it is illegal to publicize, and in doing so incorrectly claim that the data are allegedly presented in foreign publications which are available to everybody.

It is true that there are institutes in the world which present important data on armies, including our Army, in their publications, primarily data on number of members and on armament. However, neither defense ministries nor general staffs, but individual institutes stand behind these data and therefore they are relatively significant and often specific, that is, adapted to a certain purpose, such as the need to emphasize that they are endangered and frighten their own public with a potential danger. Therefore, the information VJESNIK carried recently from a foreign source in an attempt to find proof of our closeness is not true.

Finally, I want to stress that the YPA is open for all constructive and well-intentioned criticism, even that about the quality of some information. However, attacks against the concept of the all-people's defense and YPA have nothing in common with that kind of criticism. On the contrary, they are a part of increased attacks against our sociopolitical system, the LCY role, federation, and the country's unity and therefore require suitable reaction on the part of all state organs and sociopolitical organizations in conformity with their constitutional rights and duties.

Mamula Addresses Students on Defense

LD182220 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1152 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] Kumrovec, 18 Apr (TANJUG)—Several levels of global structures came separately into being as a result of the process of fragmentation and integration in the structure of the world community. To begin with, they are the two superpowers, followed by the great powers and the developing countries. These represent the biggest and most heterogenous group, both in terms of the degree of their economic development and ideological and political orientation and in terms of their defensive might. This was stated by Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary of national defense, as he spoke today to the students of the 13th generation of the Josip Broz Tito LCY Political School in Kumrovec. In a wide-ranging discourse, Branko Mamula noted some essential characteristics of relations in the international community and their impact on the military and political situation in the world, and also our country's security.

Mamula noted two opposing tendencies on a world scale. What we are talking about, he said, is the process of fragmentation and encapsulation on the one hand, and the process of the integration of the world on the other.

As against the military-political grouping, Admiral Mamula stressed, the movement of nonaligned countries emerged as a result of the peoples' historic aspirations for freedom, independence, equality, and social progress. Because of its permanent and continued involvement on the building of a more equitable and safer world, this movement has become an independent and irreplaceable extra-bloc factor of international relations.

Speaking about the future of the blocs, the federal secretary of national defense stressed that its cohesive force will gradually weaken and that on the international scale the significance of the blocs is diminishing, but that this does not at all mean that the influence of the superpowers will weaken to any appreciable extent. This view is confirmed by the known tendency in the development of international relations as a whole, in the development of relations within the blocs themselves, and, first and foremost, in the impact of the limiting factors of a general destructive nuclear war and of a conventional war on a world scale too.

The possibility of broader activity by the Nonaligned Movement and policy and the chances for the development of universal detente can be perceived in these areas.

Therefore, it is right to ask if today, on the threshold of the 21st century, the world is at a historic crossroads of passing into an era of peace, or if this is merely one of the stages of the improvement of relations between the superpowers.

In this connection, and speaking of the accord on the removal of Euromissiles, Admiral Mamula noted that only a small portion of the nuclear potential of the superpowers, no more than 4-5 percent, is involved. Moreover, at the same time the possibilities for developing lower-yield nuclear weapons, and especially of conventional weapons, are under consideration. The estimates, Mamula stressed, are that the nuclear potential that remains is sufficient to destroy the world 20 times.

Thus, the conclusion can be drawn that the agreement between the superpowers to reduce their nuclear potential, although it has a positive effect on the improvement of relations, does not automatically mean also greater security for others. This is primarily so for the smaller, not aligned countries, and that includes our country too. The fact that the world is dramatically facing the increasingly big gaps between the North and South confirms this view.

Speaking of nuclear doctrines, Admiral Mamula said that the doctrines were formulated by the military and political leaders of the superpowers in the early seventies. Nevertheless, the view prevailed to the effect that by applying this strategy it was not possible to pursue and win a war without running the risk of self-destruction. This is why recently existing doctrines and strategies have been modified and new ones have appeared, such as the "conventional doctrines" of in-depth attacks that represent the latest variant of the "Blitzkrieg" doctrine, "the doctrine of low-intensity conflicts," "distance effects," "special wars," and the like.

The federal secretary referred especially to the doctrine of indirect effect, that is, of special war. This, to quote him, will continue to gain increasingly in importance, in view of the existence of a number of limiting factors of nuclear and conventional wars. Special war is pursued predominantly against countries that are burdened by political upheavals, international conflicts, and crisis-ridden disruptions in the functioning of the economy in which, because of a high level of economic dependence, the developed countries have managed to establish strongholds in economic life including the conditions to destabilize politically the developing countries. "We in Yugoslavia must be aware of the situation, consequences, and challenges to our social reality, especially since foreign assessments of our country's defense capabilities are most directly linked with the difficulties in our economic and overall development, and especially with the manifestations of disunity in many areas of our social life." In connection with this, it must be clear to us that the further course of events in resolving the problems that have occurred in our country is monitored very carefully abroad. "Expectations differ," Admiral Mamula said, "ranging from the emphasis on the realistic chances for our social recovery to absolute lack of confidence and calculations about the ultimate stabilization of the situation in Yugoslavia." [transmission interrupted, TANJUG parts 4 and 5 not received]

As far as the democratization within the Armed Forces is concerned, this process too has developed on a continuous basis, especially in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA]. The Army is part of our society, and democratization of relations in it is conditioned by the degree of development of self-management. Several measures have been taken in the last few years aimed at improving these relations, mainly through the educational process with the officers, through work with generations of young people where the spirit of friendship, understanding, and trust and further humanization of relations as a whole are being introduced. An attempt is made through legal enactments to make the people in the Army permanently protected against any type of encroachment on their personality, their feelings, and their dignity, and to secure for them the same rights enjoyed by other citizens outside the YPA, with minimum restrictions inevitably demanded by the military organization.

Within the context of this issue reference was made also to the complex of human relations in the Army. It was stressed that, among others, special experts are being introduced into YPA units, such as psychologists and sociologists, who will scientifically discover the problems concerning this sphere, point out their broader consequences, and propose appropriate measures to eliminate the mistakes that have been identified.

In fact, the Army is not running away from the process of democratization, but is supporting it and giving it life. However, it must be said that democratic decisionmaking in a military organization is restricted in terms of volume to the business and the tasks that do not constitute a threat to the principle of single command and subordination. Decisionmaking on exclusively military issues must be settled institutionally to avoid mistakes, arbitrariness, or improvizations, because that would have unforeseeable consequences for the Army. Connected to this, Admiral Mamula said that "the opponents of our system are trying, through political hullabaloo and insinuations at the Army's expense, to shake the elementary conditions of its functioning, and to impose forms of decisionmaking that are feasible but peculiar to other parts of our social structure. In addition, the opponents are trying to make a problem out of its organizational principles, and to proclaim them to be vestiges of a previous historical epoch and regimes."

Admiral Mamula looked at the possibilities of Yugoslavia being threatened by armed aggression. He stressed that "there is no doubt that any further growth in the internal and economic political crisis in our country and a possibly stronger counterrevolutionary onslaught from within—to an extent that could go partially beyond what can be envisaged and controlled, objectively speaking—could suit an armed aggression on some pretext or another." In the eventuality of an aggression, the federal secretary of national defense stressed, Yugoslavia would resist with all-people's defense and revolutionary war until the aggression had been rebuffed, or the aggressor had been forced to give up his objectives. As far as the selection of the optimum model of strategic doctrine is concerned, the strategy of combined operations remains the only alternative. Our doctrinal stance is that by relying on our own resources we must persistently defend every part of our country. We must accept that the armed struggle starts at the very border. To be successful there, in recent years emphatic priority has been given to the reorganization and technical equipment of the peacetime section of our Armed Forces, and of the YPA respectively.

In connection with further buildup and consolidation of our Armed Forces, Admiral Mamula stressed that in the previous period we invested great efforts to improve the organizational structure in the sphere of technical modernization and the development of original war skills and, within that ambit, to perfect the leadership and command system. In the sphere of the organizational buildup of our Armed Forces, there is a sector that is organized, armed, equipped, trained, and mobile to such a degree of combat readiness as to be able to resist successfully the main forces of a possible aggressor, along the operational-strategic and main technical lines. It is also able to be the protagonist of combat engagement within the front area and in its own rear against major, primarily, armored, mechanized, and airborne troops, and is able to secure favorable conditions for the mobilization of our armed forces and for the transition of our society to a war situation. This is the YPA, which possesses a profoundly popular and revolutionary character and a deep-seated and indelible identity with the people, the working class, and the quintessential values of our society.

The second sector is capable of successfully ensuring full and effective combat control of the territory and the functioning of our social system in temporarily occupied territory, as well as the continuity of the armed struggle. It is able to act as a focus and ensure combat actions in a partisan form of armed struggle in the most serious conditions of war and successful cooperation with the part of the armed forces that carries out frontal actions and combat with large operational and tactical air and sea forces. This is territorial defense. So, we are dealing with two united parts of the Armed Forces: The YPA, which continues to develop on the principle of a standing army, and territorial defense, which contains all the essential properties of the militia form of military organization.

In connection with the essence and doctrinal role of territorial defense, there are still misunderstandings, Admiral Mamula stressed. "It is neither a classic militia nor a republican army. The defense of Yugoslavia is indivisible. In keeping with this orientation, all forces and resources for defense, in whichever part of Yugoslavia, must also be considered an integral part of the defense forces of Yugoslavia, as a whole and in the different parts."

Concluding this part of his speech, Admiral Mamula stressed that when dealing with the organizational modernization of the Armed Forces we consistently respect four principles: the unity of the total area of Yugoslavia as a theater of operations, the unity of the armed struggle, and the unity of leadership and command over the Armed Forces. [sentence as received]

Turning to the problem of the technical modernization of the Armed Forces, Admiral Mamula said that defense against some contemporary forms of aggression is almost unthinkable without corresponding high quality electronic, missile, sea, air, and other systems.

It follows from this that the issue of modernizing the Army is not a matter of choice for us. It is imposed on us from outside by the overall complexity of the military-political situation and the dangers to the security of our country, as well as by the level of modernization that has been achieved by the armed forces of possible aggressors and the development of new doctrines for their use.

The current medium-term development for 1987-90 envisages that for the needs of scientific research work an average of 8.7 percent of the YPA's budget should be set aside, which is far higher than the Yugoslav average and four times greater in relation to the period of 10 years ago. In this section of military-economic activity, the basic ideopolitical orientation is the concept of maximum reliance on and involvement in all available Yugoslav potential. In this very significant area, results have been achieved. This is also confirmed by the fact that 68 percent of the overall resources set aside for scientific-research work in the sphere of armaments is provided through institutions outside the Army, and a total of 32 percent through military-technical institutes. Scientific-research and development results from military technology boost the advancement of certain branches of industry such as: metallurgy, chemistry, machine-building, the transport vehicle industry, shipbuilding, aeronautics, the electronics industry, and others. Analyses show that in the last 10 years about 35 percent of scientific and developmental results achieved for the purposes of our Armed Forces have been applied in industry for civilian purposes. If one adds to this the effects of construction activity, maintenance, food production, and other activities on economic and technological development, then some 65 percent of the resources set aside by society for the financing of the YPA are returned to the economy.

Unfavourable economic trends in the last few years and the failure to realize basic economic orientations established in the long-term development plan for Yugoslavia have reflected negatively on the technical modernization of the Armed Forces, particularly the YPA, Admiral Mamula stressed. Following the failure to achieve the planned growth in national income, it was decided to decrease the amount of resources allocated for the financing of the YPA from 5.2 percent, as established in the medium-term plan, to 4.94 percent of the national income. However, thanks to the maximum efforts of all YPA members, the combat readiness of the Army has been given maximum importance.

In order to remove difficulties in establishing and ensuring resources for the use of the YPA, the SFRY Presidency, as is known, has proposed a change to the regulations of the SFRY Constitution relating to the financing of the YPA. In addition, at the proposal of the Secretariat for National Defense, the Presidency adopted a decision on the numerical reduction of the Armed Forces. At the same time additional efforts are being

made in the technical modernization of the Army to ensure that its combat readiness is at a level that guarantees the successful performances of its tasks in the defense of the country.

Turning to our military-economic cooperation with other countries, in particular with the nonaligned countries, Admiral Mamula stressed that this is being realized in accordance with our foreign policy and in the spirit of the stances of Tito and Kardelj. Although there is cooperation with technically developed countries as well, cooperation is focused on nonaligned and developing countries. Admiral Mamula explained this with the following facts: The nonaligned countries as a whole do not constitute any sort of military-political coalition, so cooperation in this framework cannot have qualifications that otherwise apply to bloc groupings ascribed to it; practice shows that in the defense of their independence and freedom the nonaligned countries must rely increasingly on their own resources and mutual cooperation. Through intensive cooperation on an economic, technological, financial, and military level, conditions are being created for the reduction of the dependence of developing countries on other countries and the strengthening of their defensivee capability. This should lead to greater stability and peace in the world.

In addition, military cooperation with these countries cannot be reduced, as some think, merely to the export of arms. It also includes joint work in development and cooperation in the production of resources of military technology, buying and selling, cooperation in planning, construction, and the equipment of facilities for the military infrastructure and plants for military industry. In addition, it includes extending technical assistance and maintenance services, equipping and educating cadres, and so forth.

"It should be borne in mind that through military-economic cooperation we are achieving a respectable inflow of foreign currency. We are engaging about 30 percent of the capacity of special purpose industry in production for exports. These exports serve to strengthen the overall economic stability of Yugoslavia and at the same time are an expression of solidarity with the nonaligned countries and are our contribution to the preservation of their security. From a military-political viewpoint, this cooperation is even more important because it takes place on a completely equitable basis and without any political or military strategic concessions."

Criticism of military-economic cooperation between nonaligned countries and of our involvement in this area is objectively to the advantage of the great powers and those countries where the military is most technically developed, Admiral Mamula said. In addition, this criticism also directly aims to divert the nonaligned countries from the concept of relying on their own resources and to discourage them on their path to the construction of a defense system capable of replying to any form of aggression. This would, of course, lead to a loss of freedom and also of independence for those countries, and to their submission and subjugation to one or other power or bloc.

The federal secretary for national defense devoted part of his speech to cadre modernization as an integral part of the overall modernization strategy of defense preparations. In connection with this he stressed that in a possible war we would face not only the armed forces of an aggressor who would possess the latest technology but also an adversary who is supremely well trained and drilled in leading an armed struggle. For this reason, apart from high moral and political qualities, our officers and soldiers must consist of people who are trained and drilled to this degree, and even better, in order to oppose any aggressor.

Our military education, particularly higher military education, makes an important contribution to the development of military-theoretical thought and to scientific-research work in the Armed Forces—in the spheres of battle skill, personal relations, and military technology. The extent of this capability is illustrated by the fact that about 95 percent of the total number of officers have received higher specialized education, not just by attending military academies and other higher military schools, but by attending universities throughout our country. In the Army there are about 2,500 members who have the academic qualifications of specialists, who have masters degrees or doctorates. This represents an educational structure such as is rarely found anywhere in society, the federal secretary for national defense stressed.

Concluding his speech to students of the Josip Broz Tito LCY Political School in Kumrovec, Admiral Mamula stressed: "When we point out dangers, we do not exaggerate them, and we do not mechanically describe them as coming from outside, as some people sometimes say we do. Instead, we point them out realistically and try, within the limits of our possibilities, to reduce their influence as much as possible on our strategic doctrine and plans for the defense of society. For this reason all those who undermine the Armed Forces and our concept of defense at the same time also undermine all the other foundations of social developemnt as well as the social concept itself, its material basis, the defense and self-defense capability of society and particularly the YPA, as well as other basic social values. These forces, whose actions in essence have a counterrevolutionary nature, do not have and neither will they have any prospect of success, if we wage a more organized and effective struggle against them in all parts of our country.

However, certain attacks, have, particularly recently, assumed the characteristics of a negation of all that has been created since the war. The process of the democratization and socialization of all-people's defense and social self-protection, which has grown deep roots, will continue....

We will continue, in our theoretical and practical actions, to support the consistent realization of Tito's vision of our defense and self-defense organization. In this sphere, we will constantly improve the concept and doctrine of defense, based on the detailed experiences of our National Liberation War and contemporary wars, and on the achievements of military-scientific thought in the world and in this country.... The importance of the overall defense-self-defense preparations of society arises from the long-established principle to the effect that war is no longer a general conflict as it once was. The comprehensive war preparations of the country have as their aim that well-known statement by Tito, which has shown itself to be true in practice throughout the postwar period. This statement is to the effect that potential aggressors choose as their victims only those countries and nations that are not prepared for defense. We will continue to attach particular importance in the overall readiness of society to moral-political, organizational, cadre, material, and technical and other preparations, and to the degree to which the Armed Forces and all structures of society are equipped and trained for an armed struggle and other forms of organized opposition to aggressors.

The level that has been achieved in the development of the Armed Forces ensures all the vital suppositions and conditions of a high level of combat readiness. This relates in particular to the YPA and its readiness to perform tasks in the framework of a possible armed aggression. We have sufficient forces to oppose successfully any enemy, to overcome existing difficulties, and to ensure conditions for the further revolutionary development of society.

This is our debt to our working class, to future generations, and in particular to those who gave their lives for the freedom and independence of the country.

This is the test of our faithfulness to Tito's revolutionary thought and action, it is our historical duty and responsibility to socialism in our own country and in the world. Above all, it is our responsibility for the destiny of Yugoslavia as the common state of all our nations and nationalities, Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula stressed at the end of his speech to students of the 13th generation of the Josip Broz Tito LCY Political School in Kumrovec.

Mamula Visits Military Units in Istria

LD191949 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1346 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Porec, 19 Apr (TANJUG)—Fleet Admiral Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, accompanied by his aides yesterday and today visited a number of the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] garrisons stationed in Istria. Admiral Mamula expressed particular interest in the living and working conditions in the garrisons and in the results achieved in combat training and education.

As part of his visit to Istria, the federal secretary today stayed in Porec, where he had a meeting with the municipality's political and business aktiv. On this occasion, talks concentrated on the state of defense preparations and the YPA's cooperation with the town's sociopolitical community. Particular reference was made to the difficulties in providing regular water supplies to the western part of Istria, which seriously affects the region's tourism and population.

Admiral Mamula stressed that these were problems of particular interest to the Army, which has several garrisons stationed in the area. In line with its needs and its practice of engaging YPA members in efforts to resolve all vital development issues of common interest, the YPA will take part in the construction of Istria's regional water-supply system.

Spring Military Exercises Set for Slovenia

LD192121 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1929 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Ajdovscina, 19 Apr (TANJUG)—Preparations are nearing completion for the "Prolece [Spring] 88" joint tactical exercise shortly to begin in the regions of Primorska, Kras, Vipavska Dolina, and Trnovski Gozd in Slovenia.

Members of the Yugoslav People's Army and territorial defense have successfully accomplished their tasks, thus reaffirming the high degree of their training and capability. This was clearly shown today by the territorial defense units under the command of the officers Radovan Milatovic and Igor Krt during an air raid exercise in the region of Trnovo and an "attack" by partisan units on Crni Vrh near Idrija. All these activities are being carried out in close cooperation with the social and political communities and organizations, and the population in this part of Slovenia.

Adriatic Islands' Importance for Security Noted

LD192117 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1302 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Apr (TANJUG)—In light of the importance of Yugoslavia's outer Adriatic islands for the country's defense, it is necessary to intensify efforts to halt the emigration of the population from the islands. This emigration has been going on throughout the postwar period, mainly for economic reasons. This is the principal conclusion reached today at a joint session of the Committee for National Defense, the Internal Policy Committee of the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber, and the Commission for Controlling the Work of the State Security Service. The problems of life on our islands were considered at the session from the aspect of all-people's defense.

A warning was voiced on the danger of any delay in adopting necessary measures since, in addition to those islands where the number of inhabitants has declined by

60 percent, there are also those that have become completely deserted. In view of the fact that man is the principal factor of our defense system, it is obvious what the likely consequences may be if this trend is allowed to continue.

We are all aware of the problems that drive people away from the islands. Among these bad transport links, both with the mainland and with other islands, and water shortages are the most serious ones. Young people are leaving to attend schools and find jobs elsewhere since the islands do not provide enough production capacities, and new ones are rarely built. Potential for developing tourism has not been adequately exploited as there is not enough money to finance the construction of new tourist facilities.

During the formulation of recommendations for the necessary steps to change the situation, the particpants in the debate stressed the need for the resolution of the islands' problems to become a task for the entire Yugoslav community. One of the ideas referred to the need for tax and other concessions to be granted to those prepared to invest in production capacities on the islands. Other opportunities should be found in developing small businesses, while exceptionally good results are to be expected from developing tourism.

By solving the problem of transport and water supply the number of overnight stays could be increased from 600,000 to 4 million, it was said. More important than the money, however, is the fact that this would stop people from leaving the islands, while at the same time ensuring that our islands, which we proudly look on as our "destroyers" are not left without their "crews."

Proceeding from an earlier debate on the attacks on the system of All People's Defense, the Yugoslav National Army, and the State Security Service, the three bodies today adopted conclusions that stress that these attacks are, in fact, hostile acts, and attacks on the achievements of our socialist revolution.